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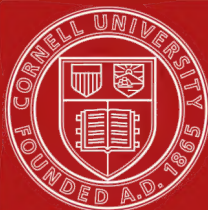
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CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

# BIRTHDAY ADDRESSES

AT THE

MONTAUK CLUB OF BROOKLYN

1892 to 1899

The Montauk Club is a well-known social organization in New York which has attained great prominence and reputation under the Presidency of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Charles A. Moore.



Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 23, 1892.

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*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:*

I should be the most insensible of men if I did not deeply appreciate the great compliment which you pay me. While the occasion makes my heart beat happily and arouses an honest pride, it presents no subject for a speech. This is not a gathering of political friends, martyring themselves to become a medium by which the orator can get his views before the country. It is not a collection of reformers, ambitious to have the speaker sit down because each one in the audience thinks he could improve the subject much better than the man on his feet. It is not a convention to promote principles, float policies or fresco men. Gentlemen of all political parties, of all religious creeds, of all professions and business pursuits are gathered in this room. That they meet to greet me is a distinguished honor; that the occasion is my birthday and decorates that natal hour with choicer flowers than ever have enshrined it before, this celebration, called for no public purpose or patriotic event or public man, is a tribute to the resources of friendship and the expansive properties of club life.

The twenty-third day of April is, of course, one of the most important in the calendar. On it St. George was born; also Shakespere and myself. St. George



belted the globe with his drum-beat and his flag; he became our progenitor. On account of his failure to appreciate the proper relations, national-wise, between parents and children, we found it necessary first to thrash him and then to declare our independence. That we have since become the principal object of his admiration, is due to our exertions and not to his teaching. But we always extend to him a cordial welcome, are hospitably entertained when we go to the old home, and are ready to render him any proper assistance if he should need it and it is right for us to give it.

Shakespeare died at fifty, and I am to-day fifty-eight, with the consciousness of firmer health, fuller powers, and keener enjoyment of life than ever before. I believe that Shakespeare died because he retired from business. He had demonstrated, for the glory of the human intellect, that "myriad minds" could be housed in one brain, and then retired to Stratford to live at ease. I have observed that health and longevity are indissolubly connected with work. Work furnishes the ozone for the lungs, the appetite and the digestion which support vigorous life, the occupation which keeps the brain active and expansive. When a man from fifty upward retires, as he says, for rest, his intellectual powers become turbid, his circulation sluggish, his stomach a burden, and the coffin his home. Bismarck at seventy-five ruling Germany, Thiers at eighty, France, Gortschakoff at eighty-one, Russia, Gladstone at eighty-two a power in Great Britain, Simon Cameron at ninety taking his first outing abroad and enjoying all the fatigues as well as the delights of

a London season, illustrate the recuperative powers of work. These men never ceased to exercise to the extent of their abilities their faculties in their chosen lines. I have seen Gladstone moving along the street with the briskness of a man of twenty-five. I have heard him at the dinner table discourse for hours upon every living question, as if he would live long enough to solve each one of them. I have sat with him in a box at the opera when the movement upon the stage absorbed him as completely as it did the musical critic in the orchestra chair; but his judgment was moved by the fresh enthusiasm of youth.

In the Old World the club is the home of the bachelor and the widower, and the house of refuge for the married man who is the victim of home rule. While the American club has, as it ought, the virtues and the attributes of that of the effete civilization of Europe, it has other virtues which are American. This gathering illustrates them. It is the gregarious feature of the American club which is its principal benefit. Its members leave at the door their politics, their creeds, their professions, their shops. In a pure democracy, with free discussion "under the rose," the best quality of each becomes the common property of all. The tone, the character, the influence of the best men meet under the best conditions and convey moral lessons which supplement those of the Church and temperance lecture, which have more restraining influence than the pledge. The Democrat discovers that the Republican is not wholly bigoted, and the Republican finds out that the Democrat is not wholly bad; the Episcopalian discovers liberality in the Presbyterian,

and the Presbyterian rubs against something besides form in the Episcopalian, while the Baptist discovers that a man can be spiritually clean without being immersed. Youth is glorious, and yet when a man of fifty and past looks back upon his mistakes, upon the perils from which Providence and not his own good sense have rescued him—perils which would not have existed if he had had during the whole period the mature judgment of to-day—he would not go back and live his life over again. Secure in the accumulated possession of friends, of family, of realized opportunity, he would not jump once more into the stream and strike out for another shore. The glory of youth is its ideals. We love to read of Burke's letter to his constituents telling them that his conscience was above their votes, and recognize our ideal statesman. We study the ideals of our Wirts and our Storys and our Websters, and idealize the lawyer; of the Jonathan Edwardses, and other giants of the pulpit, and idealize the minister; of Robert Morris, the patriotic banker of the Revolution, and idealize the business man.

We have found as we have rubbed against them in life that the statesman is often more of a schemer than a patriot; that the great soldier is egotistical, garrulous and narrow-minded on all questions but armies; that the lawyer sometimes substitutes tricks for settled principles of law and that the minister talks to the galleries rather than to the souls of the congregation; while the business man makes a phenomenal success upon standards which would reverse the Decalogue. A calm review, however, and a judicial and impartial examination of the many



examples afforded through an active and busy life, demonstrate that after all the masses are better than their representatives. The common sentiment of business is honest, of the pulpit is pure and lofty, of the congregation is moral and aspiring, of the law is just and noble, and politics has principles and honest men. Thus believing, because we know, we preserve our ideals. The woman who married us in her young girlhood is still as fresh and beautiful as on the day when she wore the orange blossoms. We fight for our party and we fight for our religion because we believe they are right; and the one is best for this world and the other sure for the next.

And now, gentlemen, I take it that the lesson of the hour is this: A multi-millionaire, who had a phenomenal faculty for accumulating money, but enjoyed neither books nor music nor social gatherings, once said to me: "What is the use of all my money to me? My house is larger, both in the city and country, my yacht is finer, my horses are faster, my pictures are better and more numerous than those of any of my neighbors, but they get as much enjoyment out of theirs as I do out of mine. I cannot eat as I would like to without getting dyspepsia, nor drink as I want to without addling my brain, and I find that, except in getting more of that of which I have already more than I know what to do with, I get little out of life." That man is a fool who does not wish to accumulate money for independence and for the benefit of his children; but he is a bigger fool to sacrifice everything for that. The college professor, intent upon his work and satisfied with his lot, the country doctor, the literary man, the jour-

nalist, the member of the professions who has time for his clubs and his friends, and his politics and his church, never ask the question, "What do I get out of life?" Life to them is one perpetual enjoyment, in expanding opportunities, in enjoyable pursuits and in steadfast friends.

Well, gentlemen, I have preached my sermon; I have given you my philosophy of life; I have touched hands with you and my heart has beat to-night in unison with yours. After all, the best things in this world are its friendships and its opportunities.

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 23, 1893.

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The accident of this speech contributed to municipal history. After its delivery the Mayor of Brooklyn indignantly left the room. This led to a discussion from the pulpit and in the press, "Why did the Mayor leave the table? If the charges in the speech were false, he should have defended the city and refuted them."

The public were aroused, committees of investigation formed and a reform movement inaugurated which carried the city for a reform Mayor by an unprecedented majority. The city government was taken entirely out the hands of the officers who had so long abused their power.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

I was fearful until an hour which made my coming to you very late this evening that I would not have the pleasure of joining my friends here. As you know my wife has been sick, and I have been declining all invitations for weeks. But though so ill, when she learned of this birthday dinner you intended giving me, she said: "I shall be exceedingly unhappy unless you go, and show by your presence how deeply we both appreciate the compliment." So I am here, profoundly grateful for the cordiality of your greeting.

Brooklyn is always unique. It is the most original municipality in the United States. Though a city of a million of inhabitants, commerce and competition have not impaired the freshness and simplicity of its beginnings. In other places they celebrate birthdays when the citizen whose memory is honored has been dead so long that his errors, faults and mistakes are forgotten, and only his virtues remembered. But in the midst of the controversies of the hour and when my deficiencies are painfully visible, the Montauk Club chooses to extend to me an annual welcome in the most gratifying form of a festal celebration of my birthday. Such an event could only occur in Brooklyn. This great and generous municipality has in another and conspicuous instance reversed the rules governing mortuary recognition. For more than half a century and during all the period of the wonderful development of this city, one man has been always at the front, leading in every work which would promote the welfare of his fellow-citizens. Parks and hospitals, asylums and pleasure resorts, schools, libraries and art galleries, have had their initiative in his creative mind, and their success by his energy, public spirit and executive ability. Brooklyn in erecting a statue to him in his life-time has fitly recognized its debt, and given to coming generations a perpetual example of civic virtue in this monument to the worth while living, and the memory, when dead, of James S. T. Stranahan. We trust our venerable friend, loved and honored by us all, may round out his century.

Brooklyn, happily, differs from other cities in that she retains the touch of neighborhood, which is the

value of village life, and well deserves its title of the City of Churches. The vigor and virility of Puritan origin, and the unquenchable thirst for knowledge about every one's life and affairs, have preserved through all immigrations the characteristics of the Yankee settlement. Brooklyn is the third largest city in this country, and the fourth, or fifth, in the world. It has all the elements of cosmopolitan and metropolitan life. Its public-school system is most advanced. It is the home of rare culture, high intelligence and aggressive reform. It has broad avenues, splendid parks, magnificent palaces and stately churches. At the same time, Brooklyn is rural and provincial. The odor of new-mown hay pervades all its streets and the clover-blossom is the perennial badge of its citizens. It has that personal contact of families and neighbors, so rapidly disappearing, and so invaluable in dissipating class prejudices and giving opportunity to the helping hand.

This very confidence and credulity have led to conditions which are exciting the amazement of the outside world. There is no more acute question than the problem of municipal government. It is interesting the best thought and talent for affairs in every country. The drift of rural populations to common centers, and the concentration of multitudes who have no acquaintance or common interests in cities where, as they increase in numbers, they intensify isolation, add fierceness to competition, and increase the difficulties of earning a living, have alarmed statesmen and sociologists. While the thought of the world is absorbed in efforts to solve

these problems and minimize mob dangers, by the equal distribution of benefits, rights and justice, Brooklyn is exhibiting startling originality in its contribution. It has surprised the people of the United States and paralyzed the statesmen of Europe. One of the idiosyncrasies of this municipality is that a portion of the public moneys, which are raised by taxing everybody, are absorbed by its public officials as their personal perquisites without protest or comment. This has become a habit so frequently condoned that the press does not comment upon it, or the people get enraged about it, or the reformer become unpopular by referring to it, except as a visitor and in a dress suit. Reforms are not accomplished in dress suits, but rather in fighting rig. This taking of money out of the city treasury is no longer called defalcation, or theft, or robbery, but misappropriation, or diversion to channels not authorized by law. Recently this misappropriation became so bold and bald that the criminal authorities had to move the machinery of justice. At the session of the Legislature just closed, the members from this city persuaded the Legislature to adopt this remarkable doctrine: That as this money was openly taken, and there was no attempt at concealment by the thieves, the ordinary principles in cases of robbery did not apply. The unfortunate officials were ignorantly following established precedents, and therefore their thefts should be legalized, and their persecutors of the District Attorney's office enjoined, and that relief measure became a law. But Brooklyn's contribution to the municipal question during the past year has not been limited to the

exoneration of officials who have appropriated its moneys. It has advanced to the distribution of franchises upon philanthropic principles. Other cities sell franchises, and the revenues derived from the sale of these privileges help the taxpayers and relieve the people of the burdens of government. But Brooklyn scorns such sordid motives, and gives away her franchises. Greece and Rome decorated their distinguished citizens, but only those whose statesmanship or generalship, whose genius in art or literature, had won the gratitude of the people. They crowned them with wreaths of laurel or bay. But Brooklyn decorates favored citizens before they are distinguished for anything, by giving them franchises. Certainly the action of the city government in refusing an offer of half a million of dollars for the charter for a street railway, and in the same hour giving it without money or pledges to unknown incorporators, as has been done this week, surpasses the fabled generosity of Monte Cristo, with his fabulous wealth. I could not let this annual compliment, coming from gentlemen who represent so much in this community, pass without a serious word upon some question of the hour. I have only the highest respect and best feelings for the Mayor, who honors us with his presence. I have unbounded faith in the capacity of the people for self-government so conspicuously shown in our national and state and township affairs being equal to the new conditions of great cities. It is neglect by the citizen of the first duty of the citizen which has called the attention of the country so unpleasantly to your home affairs and compelled me to utilize this occa-

sion to hold up to the light these recent events. Self-government in cities is on trial, and Brooklyn should, as Brooklyn can, be in the front of well-governed cities. The men here to-night can rescue Brooklyn from the outlaws who are in possession of her government, restore her fair fame and make her an example of high purposes in official life and success in good government.

A birthday speech is like the remains of Dennis McCann. When he was blown up by an explosion of dynamite a committee was appointed to break the news to his wife. After the spokesman had informed her of the tragedy as gently as he could, she asked if Dennis had been badly mangled. "Well, yes," said the spokesman, "his head was found in one lot, and his legs in another and his arms in a tree half a mile off." "That," said the bereaved widow, "is just like Dennis. He was always all over the place."

This is a gathering of successful men, of men who have made their own careers in the professions, in the arts and in business. It is a glorious sensation when one feels sure of his present and master of his future. With his fears and anxieties behind him, the trials and struggles, the privations and hardships of his earlier efforts seem to him to have been the exercises which have trained and disciplined him, and he feels like the successful athlete, proud of the steps by which he has mounted, and confident of himself. If he is a university man he recalls his lordship of the world when, as an undergraduate, his crew won the race, his team carried off the honors of the field and he took the prize in the debate, and he has a fuller, broader and healthier



appreciation of being a man. The boy born to fortune cannot enjoy these exquisite pleasures which come to those whose falls and bruises have left the honorable scars which eloquently testify to their persistence and skill in climbing the ladder of fame or fortune, or both. Most successful Americans reach this position of mastery of themselves and of their vocations early enough to have before them years of enjoyment. Few of them embrace the opportunity. They develop lust for power, and with it the cruelty of power. They become selfish, hard and grasping. They lose sympathy and touch with their fellows, and cultivate contempt for the less competent, the unfortunate and those who are moderately endowed. The real pleasures of life are denied such men, as they are to beasts of prey whose sole gratification is to kill and gorge.

But the wiser man says: "With the leisure which comes to independence and the trained ability for great affairs, I will now know my library; I will take up and pursue the studies which were the delight and ambition of my youth; I will become interested in public affairs and take part in politics and work for good government; I will garner old friends and make new ones and feel the sweet recompense of doing something for others." In a few years we hardly recognize this man. He has grown broad and liberal. Without neglecting his business, he is felt everywhere. The church and the club, the parish and the hospital, the literary circle and the working-man's organization are receiving the help of his influence and the inspiration of the resistless optimism of his buoyant health and success. He is experienc-

ing a happiness and fullness in living which is prolonging and enriching his life. It has been said that during the middle ages the people were marking time, but making no progress. But this man is energized and impelled by the movement of the century, and learns to enjoy the exhilaration of high speed.

The pleasures of life largely depend upon the relations existing between our subordinates, assistants and employees, and ourselves. Observation and long experience have taught me that we get better service from love than from fear. There is nothing in my career as a railroad president for which I have been so much criticised as in showing my faith in this theory by putting it in practice. An old-time executive officer said to me early in my career as a railroad president, "You have every requisite for success, except the knowledge of how to treat men. You are too considerate, too familiar and too easy. Make them feel the impassable gulf between the executive and the subordinate officer or employee. Sentiment and pity have no place in business. Be just, but severe. Remember that you are dealing only with the tools of the machine for whose working you are responsible. Distance inspires both awe and respect. Rule by fear; favors will be taken advantage of and regarded by the recipients as weakness." I differ *in toto* from this method either for efficiency of service or comfort of administration. When every man knows that if he does right the president is his friend; when he understands that the policy of the open door is for him and his grievances, and if he has any they will be instantly heard; when out of

the office and off duty he feels the camaraderie of candid recognition and hearty good-fellowship from his chief, he will protect in every way the interests and the reputation of the president. No detectives need watch him, for the company's business is his business and he is attending to it with his whole mind and strength. Loyalty and devotion to and affection for the president dominate every branch of the service, and results are obtained which are impossible by the harsher methods. The officer who is thus surrounded experiences freedom from care, consciousness of success, and that indefinable and exquisite pleasure which comes from the incense of visible and invisible, external and internal applause. Though I have been the manager for years of one of the greatest corporations, with the largest number of employees of any company in the world, I have never had a labor trouble, and it has been due to the practice of these principles. That to-night I have the health, vigor and hilarious enjoyment of a boy and look forward hopefully to serene old age is the result of the same philosophy of life and its associations.

I suppose there were periods when bigotry and venomous partisanship had their uses. They were the bleeding and the calomel of the old practice. But in our times there is infinite pleasure in the habit of tolerance. I have little faith in the man who has no creed but is friendly to all. There is a healthy attachment to our church and our party, because we believe them the best. It is delightful also to think that our neighbor's path to Heaven, though more difficult, still leads to the pearly gates, and his party is admirable for critical and deterrent purposes in

the opposition, though dangerous in power. Give to our friends the credit for as pure motives and unselfish purposes as those which actuate ourselves, and our social atmosphere has the charm of healthful differences, and in temperate discussion we all get nearer the truth.

To be glad of the recurrence of birthdays is to rejoice that we have lived and humbly petition to live longer. To have our friends join in that celebration, as you do to-night, touches with the tenderest emotion that pardonable self-consciousness which expands and asserts itself, because others so cordially shout hail and keep on.

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 21, 1894.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen :*

I deeply appreciate the compliment of these annual birthday celebrations which you tender me. After the feeling of gratification come the burden and responsibility of that inevitable incident of every American gathering—the speech. With no question before the house it is difficult to do it once, but when, before substantially the same audience, it comes the second, third or fourth time, the situation is critical to a degree. If the guest and orator indulges in rare pleasantries, pleasing platitudes and that ingenious collocation of words which says nothing and means nothing, he insults the intelligence of his hearers. If, on the other hand, in an audience like the present, composed of men of all political faiths, all religious creeds, and all sorts of complicated associations and interests, he says something, a section of his audience are sure to say that they are insulted. The speaker, under such conditions, is always in the position of the small boy whose enterprise pulls from the closet the family musket and points it at the head of his sister. When the coroner's jury sits upon the case, his explanation is that he did not know it was loaded. Whether the meeting shall continue harmoniously or break up in a row depends upon whether the owner of the in-

dulged foot which got in the way of the trampling speaker groans and confesses his pleasure, or howls and acknowledges the corn.

At the celebration last year the proper question seemed to me to be municipal reform. It appeared equally proper to indulge in caustic comments and peppery pleasantry upon matters affecting your city which had received the attention of the Governor of the State, the Legislature, the Grand Jury of your county and your courts. Had it dropped into the ordinary sea of after-dinner give and take, the question would have been dissipated with the smoke of the last cigar. But somehow or other, while I was innocently cavorting around the field, everybody grasped his neighbor's arm convulsively, and seriously remarked, "Chauncey has said something!" The next morning from the Aldermanic chamber of the Brooklyn City Hall, from the court-room of the police justice where the blind goddess loves to dwell, from departmental chiefs and city contractors came the screams that the gun was loaded and everybody was filled with shot. Incidentally, pulpit, press and public-spirited citizens proceeded to inquire what was the matter, and the result was one of those revolutions which occur but once in a quarter of a century in the history of a municipality, and which restored the weakening confidence in popular government in great cities.

There should be no politics in the administration of a city. It is a pure matter of business. It is whether the streets upon which the people travel, the water which the people drink, the lights which illuminate the people's way, the police who protect

the people's lives and property, the courts which administer justice for the people, are conducted in the interests of the people, and give the best possible results for the least possible expenditure. The only wonder is that the stockholder does not in the municipality show the same earnest and attentive interest that he does in the railway or the bank or the insurance company in which he holds his stock.

It may be permissible to say in the freedom of the hour that all the fruits that were gathered by the great reform tornado of last year are neither ripe nor sound. Some of them certainly seem to require an amount of that tonic which is known as popular indorsement and public opinion to keep them straight upon measures of the greatest concern to the people of the state and of the localities.

I have been led to remark, and wondered at discovering, that it was accepted as fault-finding, that there are about Brooklyn many of the elements of a great village, many of the characteristics of a New England town. We, all of us, with our experience in the government of great cities, if we would consider seriously the question, would rejoice to find that more of that personal responsibility on the part of the voter, that individual espionage into public affairs by the citizen, which characterize the suffrage of New England, were the characteristics of the great cities of the country.

I heard an incident in my recent travels of a caucus held in a western city, where an enthusiastic orator presented in glowing phrase the merits for the nomination of that grand soldier, General Mulligan. The speaker on the other side said he knew

all about the patriotic services of General Mulligan, for he was a private in the same company and the sentinel who stood at the door of the General's tent when a Confederate officer called; that he bent his ear to listen to the colloquy, and he heard the Confederate officer say: "I want that sword of yours," and then the General said, "It is yours." The friend of the General, unabashed by this exposure, arose to say that General Mulligan was a perfect gentleman, and when the Confederate officer expressed a desire for his sword why should he not give it to him when he could buy a thousand like it in Chicago? The result was that the General was nominated almost by acclamation.

It strikes me that the only platform left in this country for absolutely free speech is the after-dinner platform. All others are hedged about with conditions which make it impossible for the orator to speak his whole mind. At political meetings the audience is generally composed of those of the same faith, and they expect that the other party will be proved to be utterly bad, and their own to be entirely good. The lecture platform was at one time the place where a popular man with convictions could express those convictions with effect, and have them reach the remotest corners of the earth. It was then that Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Ralph Waldo Emerson, under the privileges of the lecture platform, inculcated the most unpalatable truths of liberty. Wendell Phillips could be howled down in Faneuil Hall, or mobbed in the Broadway Tabernacle, but on the lecture platform, in describing the life and



deeds and the death of Toussaint L'Ouverture, he could drop the seeds of that truth which bore fruit upon the plains of Kansas and flowered in the emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

The pulpit in the old New England days had absolute freedom in the discussion of every state, town or county question. The judgment of the minister was the verdict of the people. This continued in some remote Connecticut villages even into the Civil War. I remember being once with that capital campaigner, General Bruce, when the Town Committee said to him, as he was about to address a Connecticut audience in a rural neighborhood: "General, our minister is very much disturbed by Lincoln's acts outside the Constitution. He says that his Bible teaches him that the law is ordained of God, and, therefore, he cannot see why the Constitution can be violated even to free the slaves or liberate the country." General Bruce, with his fine personal appearance, and his clergyman-like utterance, rose to the occasion. He said: "I understand that that eminent and eloquent divine, who is the pastor of the leading church in this village, has doubts about the rightfulness of President Lincoln's acts because they are not sanctioned by the Constitution, although they are for the freedom of the slaves and the safety of the Republic. I reply to him that when Moses received the tablet which contained the Constitution of the children of Israel directly from the hands of the Almighty, and went to the foot of the mountain and found the children of Israel worshipping the idols, he smashed that Constitution into ten thousand pieces, though it

was constructed by God, and not by man, and drew his sword and rested not in killing the rebels until the sun went down." The minister arose, came forward, grasped the General warmly by the hand, and said: "General, the exegesis of that chapter which you have given is not in any commentary in my library, but it strikes me as very sound."

To-day, however, the pulpit is not a force in the discussion of public affairs. Not but that it is equipped with as much courage, and as much eloquence, and as much learning as ever, but for some reason, which I have not now the time to discuss, the public does not now accept from the pulpit its views upon municipal, state or national affairs, so we have left only the after-dinner platform. That is yet free from the chains of conventionality, custom or routine. At the annual dinner of the New England Society both in this city and in New York; at the annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce, in New York, men of national reputation, behind whose words stand a name and a record which men respect, whose lips utter truths, let on the light in a way which would not be permitted anywhere else. So far is this permitted that among that most sensitive people, the Irish, that genial and caustic genius, Mr. Joseph H. Choate, indulged in utterances which were received with laughter and applause; uttered anywhere else, Mr. Choate would have been compelled to leave the platform. I trust that for the sake of good morals, good government, good laws, good candidates, for the sake of all that goes to right living and right thinking, and right voting, the after-dinner platform may continue free.

It is a peculiarity of the American people that they attend to but one thing at a time, but they attend to that with great thoroughness, and they have an almighty anxiety to settle it before they take up anything else. For a period the whole thought of the country was concentrated upon the interpretation of the Constitution which might mean the indivisibility of the National Union or the sovereignty of the several states. When that was settled by the marvelous and unanswerable argument of Daniel Webster, in his reply to Hayne in the United States Senate, the next question was the spread or continued existence of human slavery. When that was settled, the next question, which called a million of men to arms, was the preservation of the Union free from slavery and upon the lines decided in the argument of Daniel Webster. And when that was settled the American people took up the great question of the national credit, as affected by the solvency of the currency and the character of its industrial legislation. The exigent question of the hour appealing to every man, woman and child is prosperity and employment for the people. I do not speak of this in a controversial sense, but only as a condition which has produced an unusual degree of hopelessness and to ask you whether that hopelessness is justified and should end in despair. Had you traveled with me during the last week, when I covered all the territory from the Missouri to New York and from the Atlantic to the Canadian border, you would have felt your faith revived, if it had at all weakened, in the resurrecting power and the tremendous and resistless energies of the people

of the Nation. They stand by their mills waiting to open them; they stand by their shops waiting to work in them; they stand by their stores waiting for activity; they stand in the railway yards and by the railway depots waiting for work. All they ask is that the question which suspends the activity of the business energies of the country shall be settled at once, one way or the other. With a people like the people of the United States certainty is the assurance of success. There may be greater success under one certainty than there is under another, but whatever the certainty the people will adjust themselves to it. On the other hand, doubt is death.

A birthday anniversary reminds one both of the beginning and of the end of life. It suggests the inquiry, "Are you glad you started? Are you satisfied with your career as far as you have gone? When and how will it end?" I never saw a man who had enough energy to crawl who was so tired and so disgusted with this world that he was ready to climb the golden stairs. Granted a good constitution and then a clear conscience and unclouded brain, a temperate life and plenty of work, and a man can live forever. He neither rusts nor rots.

What kills people is worry—worry for that which they do not want and do not need. I have seen hundreds of men who had passed middle life and who were assured for the rest of their days competency and income, launch into speculation, lose their fortune and die of worry. I have seen thousands, for the sake of larger interests or greater gains, go into business which required the energy

and the vitality of youth and experience, and die of worry. I have seen them led by the importunities of friends to indorse notes beyond their ability to pay them, and die of worry. On the other hand, the best, the most useful, both in their energies and in their example, of the people I have known are the wise old men who believe that they have a mission and who work as long as they have breath, and who mean to breathe as long as they can. Commodore Vanderbilt was worth \$20,000,000 at sixty, \$30,000,000 at seventy, and \$100,000,000 at eighty-two years of age. That demonstrates that with his frugal living and adjustment to work and responsibility of his capacity, the meridian of his powers was reached after he had passed three-score years and ten. Gladstone is a living example of the highest honors, the most majestic grasp of questions affecting a vast empire, coming to him after he had passed the period of three-score years and ten.

The world grows better as it grows older, and people grow better as the world continues to roll on. May you and I, my friends, most of us having passed the middle period of life, find the evening illuminated with all the splendors of the dawn while we possess the vigor of the meridian.



Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D.,  
at the Birthday Dinner given to him  
by The Montauk Club of Brooklyn,  
April 20th, 1895.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen :*

On the 23d day of April Shakespeare, St. George and I were born, and I am the only survivor. It is hardly a case of the survival of the fittest. This annual compliment which you pay me is highly appreciated and valued. There is always somewhere, however, either a fly or the remains of one in the purest amber. In my case it is the necessity on these recurring anniversaries of making a speech to substantially the same three or four hundred gentlemen who honor me, when the only subject before the house is the person whose birthday is celebrated. As he is forbidden by every rule to talk of himself, how shall he meet this annual obligation? He is in serious danger of having the guests cry out, as one of them did at a hotel where I was recently in the South, who, after the tenth day, as the evening banquet closed, remarked in a loud voice (I do not know that I get his chapter and verse correctly), "Hebrews xiii, 2." The indignant landlady after a while said to him: "Sir, some of the best families which I have in my hotel are Jews, and they are hurt at this reference to them." He replied: "Madam, I did not refer to them. It was simply a tribute to

your daily dinner which I intended to convey by quoting a verse which reads, 'The same yesterday, to-day and forever.'"

There is represented here every profession and business of our American life. The clergyman, the lawyer, the doctor, the man of affairs and the man of literature sit to-night within the hospitable walls of this most hospitable of clubs. The year since we last met has been so significant of events of moment to the well being of the State and society that they impress the lesson of progress and cheer the heart of the optimist by the evidences of continued improvement in the world. It has been particularly a year of revolt, of independence and of the results of beneficent revolution. Our platform in the Montauk is as broad as the universe and as liberal as truth.

After one serious break which broke the breakers, our discussions are free. It is understood that we are of all creeds and faiths in religion and politics. It is understood that we are here not as Republicans, nor as Democrats, nor as Prohibitionists, nor as Mugwumps, nor as Independents. We are here under the genial banner of good fellowship, to say what we please, so long as it is uttered "with charity toward all and with malice toward none." We start with the maxim that no party has a monopoly of virtue and no party a corner on vice. It is the party in power out of which virtue oozes and which gradually accumulates vice. Hence we have had the conditions which have led to the phenomenal overturning since last we were here. When Kings County changes 50,000 votes, when a Republican Mayor of New York, by the changing of



70,000 votes one way to 40,000 the other, is elected, when for the first time in ten years a Republican Governor and a Republican Legislature get into power by 150,000 majority, it is not a party victory. It is because the good men of the majority, finding it impossible to purify municipal or state government within the organization, join the minority party to teach their rulers, organizers and leaders a drastic lesson.

It is the plain teachings of such events that the lucky recipients of this combination of party fidelity and party disgust have it in their power to hold a sufficient number of the independent and thoughtful elements which came to them, to continue for a period the power in their own hands, or else they can so use their opportunities for personal, or selfish, or purely party purposes as not only to drive away the men who had joined them temporarily, but also a large body of their own independent following. In this way it is quite possible, if we may make such a metaphor, for a party to experience within a twelvemonth alterations from zenith to zero.

The despair of the publicist and the sociologist has been the government of cities. The inrushing from the country and from abroad of desirable and undesirable peoples and the rapidity of settlement, making impossible the processes of assimilation, have made the municipal problem the despair of the statesman. But the last twelvemonth has solved that problem—solved it on the side of liberty, and American liberty. It has demonstrated that the *vox populi* is the *vox dei*, providing the voice of the

people can find some medium through which it can be heard.

How shall the voice be registered in legislation? When a committee of a hundred or a committee of seventy of the best citizens that all parties may have, who have the confidence of their fellow-citizens, present a programme, and that programme is adopted by the public vote, it carries with it the instruction that the officers elected are the chosen representatives of the people, upon whom the people have put the responsibility, and in whom the people repose the confidence to frame the legislation which shall do away with the evils under which they have suffered and bring to them the reforms and good government for which they have fought and voted.

Any declaration by statesmen, however wise, however experienced, however conscientious, from distant communities, that these committees and the officers elected on the wave of reform are novices in politics, that they do not know what the people want, that they do not understand the needs of great populations, that their bills are foolish and their measures idiotic, is full of danger to the party organization, of which these gentlemen are the leaders, and its success in the future. It may be that the measures are idiotic; it may be that they are not wise; but the people whose representatives have framed them, as soon as they are defeated, will believe that they are the wisest measures ever devised by man, and the oftener they are defeated the more they will insist upon having them, or punish the party which defeated them.

An event has occurred during the year, little noted, and yet of the greatest interest. I arrived in Chicago a few weeks ago to find candidates lost sight of in the popular discussion of a principle. The cabman who drove me around, the porter who carried my bag, the waiter who stood behind my chair in the hotel, the clerk who handed me the book in which to register my name, the ticket agent in the railway depot, the conductor on the car, the clerk in the big drygoods store and the elevator boy who carried us to the infinite heights of the Chicago building, all wanted to know what I thought of Civil Service Reform. The Legislature had passed a bill submitting to the people whether their offices should all be put upon Civil Service principles or should be the patronage of party leaders as theretofore. The result of this discussion in that most polyglot and cosmopolitan of Western cities was a majority of 50,000 for Civil Service. I remember when reformers with so-called fads, like the late George William Curtis, suggested Civil Service twenty years ago, how it was scouted by all parties. We all of us who were active in politics believed that parties could not be run except by patronage, and we all of us—and I as readily as the rest—declared that without patronage a party leader could not hold his place nor a party retain its power. It was for the patronage with which to control the party organization that Weed and Greeley split their party in two; it was for the same high purpose that Conkling, on the one side, and all the leaders against him on the other, kept us in an internecine war; it was for the same lofty object that the state machine

headed by Daniel Manning, and the city machine, headed by John Kelley, disrupted the Democratic party; and patronage, with its supposed power and influence, has those eminent knights, armed cap-a-pie, with lance at rest, at either end of the lists, waiting for the signal to charge, Grover Cleveland and David Bennett Hill. And yet the people of Chicago, defying the politicians, have taught them that government can get along without patronage. Civil service applied to cities solves the question of municipal machines and municipal bossism. To that must be added the separation of city elections from the state and general elections, so that a man can vote against a thief or an incompetent man in his own party for mayor or sheriff without destroying the tariff or passing a bill for the free coinage of silver.

The processes for political power are simple. A few masterful men, whose business is politics, and who believe that the end justifies the means, get control of the machinery of the dominant party in the municipality. They elect their mayor and their board of aldermen, which secures for them the public works, the docks, water, gas and electricity, and that gives them the patronage. Then they appoint the judges of the police courts and the civil justices, and that gives them infinite power over the liberty and property of the citizen. Then they elect their members of the legislature, and that prevents the governing body from interfering with them. And then they intimidate the higher courts, so that no complaints will be entertained. This accomplished, the great city is absolutely in the hands of a feudal

baron, with his feudatories around him, intrenched in the City Hall. The city treasury supports from ten to twenty thousand retainers who are dependent absolutely upon the barony for their subsistence. Through them the baron holds the primaries, controls the organization, overawes inspectors, manages the count, owns the court and carries the legislature in his pocket. Then we have this amazing condition, that the processes of liberty are capable of greater tyranny than the autocratic will of the despot. Despotism is tempered by the opportunities of assassinating the tyrant. Against a semi-republican and semi-oligarchical government like that of France there can be revolution, but against a municipal tyranny owning the polls, controlling the courts, managing the finances and masters of the party organization, frequent elections prevent revolt, and there is nobody to assassinate.

I may be criticised for saying that the processes of liberty can be made more tyrannical than the edicts of a Czar, but you all remember in the marvellous revelations of the Lexow committee that widow whose friends contributed a few hundred dollars for her to have a cigar store with which to support herself and her four children. She kept house in one room and sold her cigars in the other; she sent her children to the public school, and she was doing everything which a good, virtuous, masterful, motherly woman could do to bring a family up respectably and keep out of the poor-house. The ward policeman wanted the contribution which she could not pay. Refusing, she was haled to the police station, taken before the police judge, and

sent to the penitentiary for six months, and when, on her release, she returned to her home she found her little stock of goods had been divided among the ministers of the law and her children had disappeared. It only required a policeman, a captain and a police justice to make possible an outrage which could not be perpetrated in any other country or in any other city in this wide world. Now civil service in municipal affairs makes this sort of crime impossible. Masterful men will always be leaders. They will always have a following, they will always be dominant in the control of party organizations, but under civil service there will be no thousands or tens of thousands of retainers supported out of the city treasury to defeat the taxpayers who pay them. These officers will be relieved from party pledges and party control, and the leaders must appeal to the people. There will always be leaders and so I say, "All hail the leader who, like Andrew Jackson, or Henry Clay, or James G. Blaine, or William E. Gladstone, the people can follow."

And now, gentlemen, the year having proved so eventful, I have been struck with the questions which are brought to me by the interviewer. I have found that if you wish to know what the people are talking about it is first developed by the man with the pad and pencil who drops into your house or office and wants your opinion on it. Two questions seem to have been started suddenly, and each assumed at once world-wide importance. The first, from the hitherto unknown Dr. Nordau, of Germany, is: "Is the world degenerating?" The second is Bismarck's wonderful remark in his eightieth-birth-

day speech, that he never received any happiness from his successes. I beg leave to differ with both of these eminent men. The facts which I have just recited show that the world is not degenerating, and Bismarck, when he made the startling observation that success brought no happiness, ignored the fact that his success had brought to him on his eightieth birthday the homage and devotion of the German peoples, not only in their own land, but wherever they might be all over the world; that this homage was received for his success in establishing German unity, and for his success in illustrating the possibilities of German brains and German energy and what they could accomplish, and that this tribute of love and affection and veneration, coming from all over the world, gave to him on his eightieth birthday more happiness than had been concentrated in all the days and all the years of his past existence. "Is the world degenerating?" says the newspaper interrogator. Certainly it is not in the liberties which are being gained for the people, because they are increasing year by year. Certainly it is not in the education which is afforded by the Government, for that is enlarging and becoming better all the time. Certainly it is not in standards of morality. Twenty-five years ago Palmerston was Prime Minister of England and Disraeli the leader of the opposition. Palmerston at eighty had been detected in an intrigue of which the proofs were clear and positive. The party leaders went to Disraeli's and said: "Let us drive him from office." Disraeli's answer was: "If you start that movement, I resign, because it will lead to his becoming so popular that he will

remain permanently in power." Ten years afterward the same thing drove Dilke from public life, and later did infinite injury to Parnell, and to-day there is no man in America or in England, in public life, who could survive the clear proofs of a violation of the Seventh Commandment. All these things, which are taken as evidences of degeneration, are simply the nineteenth century cleaning house for its new tenant, the twentieth century. There are always about the old house rubbish, unused furniture, old rags and the remnants of filth and disease. The good tenant is careful to remove these evidences which would reveal to the new one the family weaknesses and cause him to criticise the family habits. The nineteenth century is a good tenant and it is sweeping out fads and humbugs of every nature and description. It is gathering them up and putting them in shape, either to bury or burn them.

We have labor troubles, and yet with the various solutions of paternalism in government, of arbitration, of co-operation and educational advantages bringing capital and labor nearer together, the nineteenth century bids fair to solve the problem before the twentieth century comes in. We have had our stage flooded with plays which made the heroine anything but what she ought to be, until the playwright believed that without such a heroine the play was impossible, and we have simply brought her out in the closing years of the century to expose her hideousness in order that the twentieth might not find her in the house. We have had aestheticism and have cultivated it, and praised it, and honored it, and finally, when we found it was filth covered with



flowers, we have buried it in a felon's cell with Oscar Wilde. We have had our literature, which the German scientist especially deprecates, where the good old novel which amused and inspired us and brought us in contact with humanity and with nature for the betterment of our mind and soul was succeeded by the modern experiment. The new novel came from Zola and Tolstoi and Ibsen and their like. It came to preach doctrines. The new novel bored us with sermons, and sent us to bed with the headache, because of problems and possibilities which threatened the disruption of society, of the family and of all in which we had invested our hearts, our hopes and our future. The closing hours of the nineteenth century are getting rid of those novels by rushing frantically, with outstretched arms and mouths wide open, to human nature, humble, fascinating, plain, common, human nature in Trilby.

The transparent lesson to us of the closing hours of the nineteenth century is that while the century dies, we should live as long as we can. We can only live by getting out of life all there is in it. What is happiness, anyway? While I do not discredit the future world, but, on the contrary, believe in it, according to the doctrines of the Church which I attend, yet we do not personally know, either from those who have come from the other world, or from revelations received from there, precisely what is the happiness of the next world. Our problem is not so much to long for that as to find our happiness here. Where is it? It is in a healthy mind, a healthy soul and a healthy body, and even if your body is not healthy, you can keep the other two in fair condition.

The secrets of happiness and longevity, in my judgment, are to cherish and cultivate cheerful, hopeful and buoyant spirits. If you haven't them, create them. Enjoy things as they are. The raggedest person I ever saw was a Turkish peasant standing in the field, clothed in bits of old carpet. But the combination of color made him a thing of beauty, if not a joy forever. Let us never lose our faith in human nature, no matter how often we are deceived. Do not let the deceptions destroy confidence in the real, honest goodness, generosity, humanity and friendship that exist in the world. They are overwhelmingly in the majority. I have lost twenty-five per cent. of all I have ever made in loaning money and endorsing notes, and have incurred generally the enmity of those I have helped because I did not keep it up. But every once in a while there was somebody who did return in such full measure the credit for the help that was rendered, that faith was kept alive, and the beauty and the goodness of our human nature were made evident.

I have appointed about one thousand men to office and employment which gave them support and the chance to climb to positions of greater responsibility and trust if they had the inclination and ability. About nine out of every ten of them throw stones at me because I did not do better for them, and keep pushing them, and yet there are a hundred or so who, by the exercise of their own ability, their own grasp of the situation, have gone on to the accomplishment of such high ambitions and successes, and have appreciated in so many ways the help extended to them by helping others, that again my faith in human

nature remains undiminished. And my last recipe for happiness is to keep in touch with the young. Join in their games, be a partner in the dance, romp the fastest and turn the quickest in the Virginia reel or the country dance, go up to the old college and sit down and light your pipe and sing college songs, take the children to the theatre and howl with them at the roaring farce, and laugh with them at the comedy and cry with them at the tragedy, be their confidant in their love affairs, and if they are not equal to it, write their love letters, and never stop writing some for yourself.

Thus, gentlemen, will the twentieth century, with its clearer purposes, its higher endeavor and its limitless opportunities, welcome us older fellows as the youngest and most vigorous of those who are to solve its problems and make its record.



Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 18, 1896.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

Words would be inadequate for me to express my profound appreciation of this continuation of your annual compliment. The large number and the distinction in every walk in life of the gentlemen who participate in this courtesy give to it more than individual or local significance. It seems to me to be a platform upon which can be expressed, with frankness and freedom, opinions upon all questions. We may be of one great party or the other in politics, or of no party; we may be of any sect in religion, or of no profession, and yet a fair treatment of any subject in the field of inquiry or controversy is received in the broadest and most catholic spirit. The discussions which, serious or festive, have marked this occasion in former years, have been attended afterward by extraordinary results in municipal and state affairs. We have had the fullest proof that the truth, sown ever so carelessly, if it falls in proper soil, bears ever the most generous fruit.

We are again, as we were four years ago, in a presidential year. We will all admit that the conditions are reversed. Then the handwriting was upon the wall which marked the success of the opposition over the party which had held power in the

government for a generation. Then we all felt that there was to be a condemnation of the system of protection as a principle of public policy, and the trial, in some form, of the theory of free trade. We all knew that the craving for more currency would find expression either in the actual debasement of the currency or in a combination of forces so powerful and so threatening as to endanger the continuance of settled standards. But the handwriting is equally clear upon the wall to-day that there is to be another trial, and a vigorous one, of the principle and practice of protection; that there is to be a defeat, and an overwhelming one, of the friends of fiat money, of a debased currency or of the free coinage of silver.

Rapid as has been the progress of the century, fast as has been the pace of the half century and great as have been the evolutions and revolutions of the last quarter of a century, none have been more significant or more pregnant with results to our country than the story of the last four years. It will stand by itself as one of the most interesting chapters when the future historian comes to write the history of the people of the United States during the nineteenth century. The retirement from power of the Republican party after thirty years of rule was an event of no ordinary importance; the advent into the possession of every department of our government of the Democratic party and its allies was an event of extraordinary interest. These four years will be remarkable for the culmination in them of the fads and theories which have come to the front since the civil war. Fifty years from now the story,

will read like a romance of the rise of the Populist party, its wild, vague, impossible and impracticable theories, the singular public men whom it threw to the surface, its capture of several states and its ability to hold the balance of power in the Congress of the United States, and then its disintegration and dissipation almost as rapidly as it was organized. After three years of stormy life and untimely death we may apply to it the epitaph upon the tombstone of the infant, "if so soon I was to be done for what on earth was I begun for?"

Not less interesting will be the history of the movement in favor of the free coinage of silver and the great proportions which it assumed. It was but a year ago that it controlled all the southern states, all the states between the Missouri river and the Pacific coast and had a strong foot-hold in the northwest. It frightened the politicians of both parties; it forced recognition in both of the national platforms and drove into silence or acquiescence most of our statesmen of national reputation. The publicist who reviews the period and seeks the causes of the extraordinary prostration of industries, suspension of business and paralysis of employment and labor during the last three years, as he comes to consider how much want of confidence and weakening of credit had to do with it, will assign a large place among the factors of the problem to this powerful and aggressive movement. While I differ widely from President Cleveland on almost every part of his public policy; while I think that his theories, so far as they have been practically carried out, have been disastrous, and if wholly car-

ried out would have been fatal to our industries, nevertheless in the frankness and the fairness of this platform it is due to him to say that the rout of the free coinage of silver policy and the energizing of the national credit by the triumph of sound money are more largely due to his throwing upon that side, with magnificent courage and ability, the whole strength and power of his great office and of his administration than to anything else.

While we have had a period of distress which has brought so much suffering to millions of homes, and while the cost has been more than that of a disastrous war, yet the suffering has not been in vain and the cost has not been lost if it shall have gained for us in education by discussion and by the experience of our people the death of the absurdities of populism and the triumph of that sound money and unquestioned currency which shall keep this great trading, business and commercial republic in honorable relations with and in the lead among the great trading, business and commercial nations of the world. But that will not be its only compensation. The experience of the last twelve months has enforced the lessons of the necessity of stability in the diplomatic service, of training for the difficult art of diplomacy and of a foreign office which shall have in its permanency and in its power both the confidence of Congress and the country and the ability to cope with dignity and honor with every question which affects the relations of the United States with foreign governments.

We do not differ as to the Monroe Doctrine, as explained by Monroe and Jefferson and Madison



and Webster and Calhoun, being the settled policy of the country, to be sustained at every cost and every sacrifice. We do not differ in the sympathy and the practical measures possible to support it, which should be given to the suffering Christians of Armenia, and the stoppage of the horrible massacres taking place in that territory. We do not differ in the feeling we all have that the pro-consular government of the Roman Empire of its distant provinces, with its despotic authority and crushing exactions, ought no longer to exist anywhere in the world, and especially in our neighboring state, the Island of Cuba. But at Washington these most delicate, most grave and most difficult questions have been met by resolutions and speeches which, in the language of diplomacy and the custom of foreign offices, mean a declaration of war. The magnificent revival of business, so hopeful for every industry, for every mill, for every factory, for every furnace, for every railroad, for labor and for wages, which began in the fall had become paralyzed by March by the country daring neither to invest nor employ nor to buy because of a continuing refusal to provide the government with the means for meeting its ordinary obligations in the time of profound peace, or buying great guns or building fortifications for the protection of our coast and harbors, while at the same time Congress was practically declaring war every few days and calling to some power to come on and submit all differences, whether formulated or not, to the arbitrament of the sword. There must come out of the terrible cost of this method of diplomacy—a cost without results,

either in fame, or in territory, or measures,—a strengthening of our diplomatic service and our foreign office, and there must also come the triumph of a movement begun within the year, and rapidly commanding the confidence and support of the best sentiment of the civilized world, for the creation of a permanent international court of arbitration to which nations, and especially English-speaking nations, can with dignity and honor submit every question in dispute between them. It has become the habit to shout “coward!” and “commerce!” and “business considerations!” and “lack of patriotism!” against every proposition which looked to the peaceful settlement of international questions and the avoidance if possible of the horrors and the sacrifices in life and in treasure of a great war. But the Christian sentiment, the civilized sentiment, the manly sentiment, the patriotic sentiment of our country believes that it is not cowardly to have business prosperous, to have capital employed, to have a place for every laborer who desires to labor, to have wages remunerative and constantly increasing, to have happy times and peaceful lives, to have, if you please, good business, if they can be secured with honor to our country, without danger to our interests, and by the peaceful process of arbitration or judicial decision.

I have been impressed, during a recent tour over eight thousand miles, with the fact that we as Americans know less about each other than we do about foreign countries. Almost any intelligent person whom you meet is familiar with the industrial and social conditions of Great Britain, France, Germany

and Italy, and the knowledge of many of them extends to all the continents of the globe. Very few are familiar with the climatic, the agricultural, the industrial or the commercial conditions and possibilities of the Gulf states or of that vast territory which extends from the boundaries of Oregon and California over thousands of miles of arid plain, with some beautiful oases of cultivated land, up to the Missouri river. Our country is so vast in extent, and capital, labor and competition have become so concentrated in crowded centers that we need a department of government to teach congested populations where they can find air, health, wealth and liberty. Why should miners be starving in one territory when productive mines are calling for labor in another? Why should farmers, freezing in inclement climates, or with their barns, their houses and their fences and their stock blown to pieces by relentless blizzards, give it up and return again to the older settlements, when rich fields and alluring climates wait for and want them? In the thousands of miles of the great American desert ten millions of people could live in prosperity and happiness under a scientific system of irrigation—such a system as only the government could inaugurate. Strange as it may appear the historian in looking over our century and citing the benefactions of our country will give a place, and a good one, to Brigham Young. Having stopped his caravan in the Salt Lake Valley with the mountains of snow encircling it and the alkali plains hard and dry and unproductive, he saw that if he brought the water from the mountain and distributed it on the plain he could produce an

earthly paradise for his co-religionists. He also discovered that the real secret of successful farming in a country of rich soil is the small farm which the farmer and his family can look after personally and attend to every detail. That principle has made Utah the most prosperous of the intermontane states and Salt Lake its largest city.

Governor Flower tells of a farmer from Jefferson county who settled in the Northwest. In narrating to the Governor his experience he said that in order to resist the blizzard he built a snow fence four feet wide and six feet high. "When the wind blew it over, then the darned old fence was six feet wide and four feet high." I found this farmer in Texas where he had gone with his neighbors. They had demonstrated that rice could be profitably raised upon hitherto almost worthless prairie land and that little colony are now living in comfort and comparative affluence. We know so little of the magnificent scenery, the unique succession of fertile valleys and the climatic and productive possibilities of California, because nature, always jealous of her treasures, has placed the Pacific ocean on one side of the golden coast and a thousand miles of desert on the other. The heat in that desert was a hundred and seven in the car in March, and Yuma is said to be the hottest place in the world. It is narrated of a soldier who died there, who was the wickedest man in the regiment, that he was buried with military honors and went to his proper place. A few days afterwards the commander of the garrison saw him walking about the camp and threatened him with arrest, court-martial and execution for having come

back so unceremoniously after he had been properly mustered out. The soldier's excuse was that he had become so accustomed to the temperature of Ft. Yuma that he had come back for his blankets. After twelve hours of intolerable heat and suffocating dust the traveller comes almost instantaneously into a garden of roses, fields of evergreen alfalfa grass and groves of orange, lemon, peach and other trees filling the air with the perfume of their blossoms or laden with golden fruit. The desert ends and paradise begins where irrigation has redeemed the sand and made it a fruitful mine of annual wealth. We met at one of the stations in the desert an original genius, a surviving product of earlier times when the west was wild and woolly. From saloonkeeper, cowboy and desperado he had become a justice of the peace, the fountain of the law and the keeper of the village grocery. He greeted me cordially, said he would have known me anywhere from my picture, and then frankly answered my question as what in his judgment were the two most important decisions in his judicial career. He said: "The first was a man brought before me for shooting a Chinaman. I decided that there was nothing in the statutes of the state or of the United States that made it a crime to kill a Chinaman. And," said he, "when I read in our county paper the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the Chinese Exclusion Act I found that my opinion had been sustained by Chief Justice Waite. The other case was that of a man who fell into the gorge of the canon. In the discharge of my duty as a judge I sat upon the body and searched it. I found in its clothes forty dollars

in money and a thirty-two calibre pistol. Under the laws of the state of Texas it is a misdemeanor to carry concealed weapons and so I fined the corpse the pistol and the forty dollars for violating the law and the court took possession of the property."

The lesson of California is the marvellous difference between the profit pro rata of large and small farms. We rode for thirty-five miles through one farm of a hundred thousand acres and through others of forty and fifty thousand acres. The large farmers as a rule were complaining of the low price of wheat, the comparative worthlessness of stock and the diseases in the vines of their vineyards. But every man we met who was growing oranges, lemons, apricots, prunes or olives upon ten or twenty acres and giving to the culture a personal, trained, educated and scientific attention, was averaging three hundred dollars an acre from orchards which were five years old. Upon these figures the mind is taxed to determine the number of families which could live in unaccustomed comfort and in unequalled climatic conditions in California. I could not help contrasting my father's old farm up in Peekskill in the early days, with its annual crop of stones and taxes, with the gentleman whom I visited, whose cosy cottage was a home of comfort and culture and whose ten acres, with enough labor only to keep him healthy, yielded him three thousand dollars a year. He pressed the button, and then irrigation, good soil, the most heavenly of climates and a Chinaman did the rest.

We are naturally a boastful people and yet the better I know our country the more I am impressed

with our boundless basis for bragging. The language of exaggeration and metaphor seem inadequate to state the conditions for health, wealth and happiness in the United States when you add to them the possibilities of the future. Education and credit are the factors which will develop these possibilities and minimize the return of periodical disaster. The largest and the finest building in every town on the Pacific coast is a schoolhouse. And by credit I mean national credit with unquestioned stability, and assuring to enterprise and energy the results of their forecast and daring. The more I see and know of the United States the more I am an optimist. And the more I see and the better I know the men and women of our time the more I am a happy optimist. There are many secrets of perpetual youth, but one of the best, in the enjoyment which it gives to the increase of years, is faith—faith in the goodness of the times and the people who live in them, faith that the present is better than the past and faith that the future will be better than the present. The kiss with which we bid good night to our loved ones is sweeter far if accompanied with the belief that we shall greet them on the morrow with the kiss of a better day.

We must have some faith even in our illusions. The Legislature has just exhibited it in solemnly enacting into law that a bicycle is not a vehicle but a trunk. We are always in danger if we go too far in doubt or experiment, as was exhibited in that mortuary poem of Cincinnatus which so delighted Dean Holme:

Little Willie from the mirror  
Sucked the mercury all off,  
Thinking in his childish error  
It would cure his whooping cough;  
At the funeral, Willie's mother  
Blandly said to Mr. Brown,  
It was a chilly day for Willie  
When the mercury went down.

Well, gentlemen, we close to-night another year.  
May the cordial handclasp with which we met keep  
our hearts warm with the anticipation of another  
cordial and vigorous greeting for us all when next  
April comes around.



Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 24, 1897.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen :*

It is the privilege of every man to enjoy a birthday dinner. He generally gives it to himself, and invites a few friends to enjoy it with him. This was notably the custom for the last years of his life of General Sherman. Those unique and original entertainments live as the most pleasant memories of the few who were privileged to enjoy them. But it is a compliment and honor which I profoundly appreciate that so many friends should year after year unite in celebrating, in such hospitable and charming way, my entrance into the world. It develops egotism, not of the large-headed variety, but that healthy enlargement of the heart which cultivates and encourages one's love for and faith in his fellowmen.

From the first this platform has been one of free speech. My hosts are men of all parties, of every walk, profession and business, and of all creeds and religions, and some of them of no religion. Suggestions partly humorous and partly serious have been made here which have aroused inquiries and started agitations leading to notable results in municipal and political affairs.

There are two occasions in a man's life when the broad mantle of charity covers his utterances, and what might be imprudent or indiscreet at other

times is forgiven as an acknowledged liberty of the occasion. One is a speech at his marriage, in response to the toast to his bride and himself, and the other a speech on his birthday, in response to a pledge to his health, long life and happiness. So in reviewing the year I may be free with both comment and confession.

Certainly the past twelve months have been the most revolutionary of the six years; whether the most reactionary, time alone can determine. As a confirmed optimist, I believe that out of the throes of every revolution come better politics, better government, a broader understanding of the underlying principles of our institutions among the people and a permanent advance in prosperity and liberty. In the disappointment which has followed the election, because the impatient temperament of the American people demands instantly the fulfillment of promises and prophesies and results which can only come with new policies and their practical workings, we have discovered that nothing prospers but prosperity.

I have been an active worker upon the stump and in every practical way in politics ever since I was a voter. Only once before in any presidential canvass have I found old-time friends and foes working together for the same candidate, as was the case in the last canvass, both among those who supported McKinley and those who followed Bryan.

In looking calmly and philosophically over the past three years, and especially the past few months, one is impressed with the thought that as the world grows more practical it becomes more sentimental;

that as the romance period vanishes and the knight-errant is no longer a hero, but a clown, the sordid aspirations of the world for bread and butter, for comfortable living, for the accumulation of fortune, are moved more by the imagination than by the mind. A hundred years of coal as fuel, followed by fifty years of inventions which could be utilized and moved by cheap combustion, followed by the utilization of electricity for instantaneous communication around the globe, culminated suddenly, like the bursting of the cap from a volcano, in world-wide business catastrophies and calamities. Old methods, old handicrafts, the skill of the experienced artisan, the calculations of the farmer, and the forecast of the business man, were nullified or neutralized. Forty per cent. of the capital of the world was lost in machinery rendered worthless and products and enterprises which had become useless by an evolution more rapidly than the possibility of adjustment to its new condition. All civilized nations have felt the force of these radical changes of the utilization of power, which so enormously increased and cheapened production, and of the quick contact of the products of semi-barbarous peoples, whose labor counts for little, competing in the markets with the products of those whom civilization and liberty have taught how to live. The adjustment has taken less than five years, against fifty years of evolution and revolution. The new era has furnished multiplied employments and taught new trades, so that prosperity has generally followed distress. Certainly the great industrial nations like Great Britain, Germany and France, though they suffered severely for

the three years before, have not been so prosperous for a decade as during the past year. Then why do we halt? We have more accumulated wealth than any other nation, we have seventy millions of people, whose intelligence, energy and enterprise put us in the front rank among nations.

Our undeveloped resources are incalculable in their capacity to support great populations in comfort and increase our national power. The South is as yet scarcely touched in its agricultural possibilities and mineral wealth. The arid territory under scientific and government irrigation is to furnish homes for millions, while the Pacific Slope presents ideal conditions for that paradise which has been the dream of the Utopian for centuries—easy living and opportunities for intellectual life upon ample income from a few acres. While no nation approaches us in these elements of prosperity, they prosper, but we as yet are struggling with industrial and financial difficulties. It is transparent that the obstacles are not in our material, our natural, our developed, our prospective or our educational conditions. The older countries, so fearfully handicapped as they are with debts and standing armies and threatening wars and congested populations, have adjusted themselves to the revolution and the evolution of steam, electricity and invention, because they did not have to struggle with the tools of exchange, with the fundamental principles of business and finance. We are like the superbly-equipped gladiator, who is sure of success, but who, in a contest with swords, hesitates whether he shall use a club or gloves. We have a banking system,

with the government as a partner, which fails to properly distribute to every section of the country the currency, and which puts the government and its credit at the mercy of Wall street flurries and gigantic speculations, and we have a continuous and undecided battle about our currency which casts a disastrous doubt in all the markets of the world upon old securities and new loans, so much needed for our development. We have every basis for credit, every condition for business, every requirement for prosperity, even if the worst should come out of our muddle of finance and of currency. But the imagination of the hard-headed capitalist and money-lender, banker and financier, arouses the fears and so sways his judgment that they all say: "We will let our money lie idle, or we will invest it where the returns are the smallest, rather than venture it upon the uncertainties of depreciation by government action or panic, because the government will persist in being a banker and may not be able to redeem its notes in gold." Give us an automatic system, by which the remotest parts of the country would, under business conditions, find the currency necessary for their wants; give us an assurance that our financial system shall be in harmony with the established standards of civilized countries; give us revenue sufficient to meet every necessity of the government; let the government remit to legitimate channels, under proper safeguards, our mediums of circulation, and the stamping, rearing and impatient steeds of prosperity, loosed from these halters and hobbles, will bear a great people upon the chariot

of progress to unused heights, prosperity and happiness.

Instead of solving our problem by demonstrated processes, the acuteness and long continuance of our industrial depression have created temporarily a sentiment, cropping out all over the country, and finding expression in our Legislatures and in our courts, that property is a crime and capital a curse. The tie-up of an enterprise, or the crippling of a vast machinery of employment, which distributes money into numberless beneficent channels, is held as a blessing, while suggestion and effort remain dormant for the creation of conditions which will bring about that union of capital and labor, that extreme activity of both by which capital eagerly seeks the assistance of labor, and labor finds its full employment and reward, by which the avenues are once more opened where American opportunity beckons American energy, ambition and genius for affairs to thrift, competence and fortune.

As the result of legislation and interpretation, a blow has been struck at the railway system of the country, and through it at our internal commerce, which the railway managers are doing their best to meet and obviate its most injurious effects. On this point a few figures may be interesting. The railways of the country pay out and distribute from their treasuries annually three times as much money as does the United States government. The direct expenditures to their employes, and to those who produce the coal, oil, rails, fishplates, spikes, ties, cars and locomotives, support two millions of men, whose families number about ten millions more.

During the recent campaign I traveled and spoke to enormous audiences all over the Western States. I found that there exists in many parts of the country a singular and intense hostility to New York and to New Yorkers. It grows hotter as it approaches the great continental divide, and disappears on the fruitful slopes of the golden coast. It is the outgrowth of the craze against the results of thrift, intelligence and prosperity. When one becomes familiar with the great and disastrous change which has taken place in the agricultural conditions of this vast area, he can not help sympathizing with the man who can find no purchaser for his farm and no living market for the products of his farm. Under such conditions it is not the workingman who becomes a socialist and a believer in every form of paternalism, but it is the man of small property, whether invested in the farm, or any kind of business which he has accumulated by great industry and rigid economies, and for which he cannot get a legitimate return. You or I, gentleman, if in a similar situation, would be fighting whomever and whatever seemed to be the enemy of our community or of our state. The vast industrial population of our commonwealth of New York disappears, to a distant people suffering so long from these business calamities, behind the glitter and the splendor and the gorgeousness, enormously exaggerated by picture and description, of the palaces, the picture galleries, the services of plate, the banquets, the balls, the yachts and the extravagant pleasures of the wealthy of the metropolis.

I curiously investigated the antipathy to railway men in politics, which was so strong in 1888 that the chairman of one of the western state delegations at the Chicago Republican National Convention informed me that from president to brakeman every man in the employment of the railroad was debarred from public service, open to all other occupations, as a public enemy. There are a million railway voters in the United States, and enough of them in every state, if they cared to act together, to vindicate their manhood or assert their rights as citizens, to change the politics of the state. A distinguished statesman said to me: "We want the votes of you railroad men; we like to have those of you who can speak, go upon the platform, and we especially love the contributions of those of you who can afford to give, but as candidates for office before the people, or for positions after election, we are afraid of you." "But," I said, "you seem to make an exception in favor of some railroad men." His answer was: "Yes, but not those who have made their companies business and financial successes. If the manager or managers of a railway have made it insolvent, and put it in the hands of a receiver, they are eligible, because we think they can be regarded as the enemies of capital."

But, gentlemen, there is no power on earth, of Congress or of legislatures, bad laws on the statute book or worse ones to be put there, which can long restrain American prosperity. Only let us know what the conditions are to be, and we will meet them, however bad; only give us a rest on any line for four years, and we will make that line a success.



The productive energies of the United States can be kept idle only a little longer. It may be the concert of Europe turning to a caterwaul; it may be the unexpected in some great department of industry spreading to all others, but whatever the motive power, in spite of everything, we shall suddenly find ourselves again enjoying industrial prosperity.

And now, to relieve the tension and contribute to the hilarity of the hour and the gaiety of nations, let us review the political experiences of the year. Though charged with both, I have neither a big head nor a sore one. One morning, on going out after my recent illness, I found that I could not get my hat on my head. I called my family and said, "The adulation of the press and the incense of applause, which is all that you have read to me while I was sick, has produced its natural result, and I have a swelled head." These practical-minded guardians sent for the doctor, who pronounced it belladonna poisoning, from atropine, which had been put in my eye, and said that the swelling was all on the outside.

When General Woodford and I were in Washington, just before the inauguration, we discovered that there were two places assigned to everybody—missions or omissions. I remember Mr. Greeley storming about in great rage because witty Jim McQuade said that while Horace had made many Presidents, and more reputations, his reward had been to be the "Permanent Secretary of the Exterior, in charge of the Thermometer."

I have been offered by Presidents cabinet positions and foreign missions, and my party in the state has tendered me, at various times, every honor in its

gift. Therefore I know from experience that neither republics, nor politicians, nor parties are ungrateful, nor can I be charged with anything but giving a bit of philosophy for the guidance of posterity in the few experiences I am about to tell you. Our people, as a people, love office, and seek it with avidity. In party conventions nominations go, as a rule, with great impartiality to those who have political value and political sagacity. In appointments, however, the appointing power, by the very necessity of the conditions which surround a President or a Governor, is moved largely by personal considerations, personal acquaintance and the confidences of personal contact. I have had two experiences which charmingly illustrate this principle, both of which occurred when I was a young man. While still in the law office where I had studied after my admission to the bar, I spent two months upon the stump in the presidential canvass. At its close I sat one night in the Delavan House, at Albany, with two most successful platform orators, who had been three months canvassing—witty and eloquent Jim Nye and eloquent General Bruce. “Well,” said Bruce, “Jim, what will we get?” Nye said: “We have worked too hard to get anything. It is the man who sits on the fence and criticises the worker who demonstrates his fitness for place.” Neither of them got anything by appointment, but Bruce was frequently honored by the voters of New York, and Nye, moving to Nevada, came back to the United States Senate to give to that state a national and an international reputation. After the enactment of the international revenue laws, the able old lawyer

with whom I studied thought it would be a good idea for me to combine in the firm politics with law, by becoming an assessor of internal revenue. All other candidates retired, and the whole power of the state was put in the hands of the Judge, who went to Washington. The President said: "This appointment seems perfectly clear. The support is unanimous. I have heard something of the services and eloquence of this young man, and I will make the appointment." After some further conversation, he said: "By the way, what counties are in your district?" At the mention of Westchester, he remarked: "Well, I am very sorry, but I promised that place yesterday." As the party powers in the state and congressional district had presented no one but myself, the Judge inquired, "To whom?" The President named the man, when the delegation said in astonishment, "Why, he is a Democrat, and has always been, and vigorously opposed your election!" "Yes," said the President, "but years ago, though a perfect stranger, at a Western hotel, he nursed a near relative of mine through an attack of the smallpox, when everybody else fled, and, from the character of that service, I think him to be a man who would properly and faithfully fill this position." The nominee speedily changed his politics, and proved to be an efficient officer. To test the loyalty of Johnson, the two Senators and the delegation in Congress, the State Committee, the Governor and the Republican members of the Legislature pressed upon the President my nomination for the Collector of the Port of New York. The position was more important then than now. The emolu-

ments were \$150,000 a year in fees, and the patronage made the collector largely the arbiter of the party organization in the State of New York. It also gave him great influence in the Senate and House of Representatives. The President sent for Secretary of State Seward, Senator Morgan and Representative Henry J. Raymond on Sunday morning and said to them, "This presentation is so phenomenal that I have concluded to appoint Mr. Depew, and I sent for you to inform you and to say that the nomination would be transmitted to the Senate to-morrow morning." He even went so far as to have the papers made out and signed. The next morning, early, Professor Davies, of West Point, who was urging his brother, the distinguished Chief Justice of our Court of Appeals, for the place, hearing of this, got access to the White House, and persuaded Johnson to defer action. Soon after came the trouble over the Civil Rights bill between the President and Congress, and six months later the President appointed to the place Mr. Smyth, a successful merchant of New York, who, like most of his associates, was an active critic of politics and politicians, but seldom took enough interest in elections to vote, and had no attachments which were binding to any party.

That a foreign mission is not a bed of roses or a decoration which can always be worn with increasing pleasure, I can establish by a story which I never before have publicly told. I found on the steamer going to Europe one summer that brilliant advocate and eccentric genius, Emory Storrs. Every such man has a fad and the fad of Storrs was to have three hundred and sixty-five different colored neck-

ties, one for each day in the year. He was going abroad for the first time. He had been disappointed in securing the position of Attorney-General, but the President had immensely gratified him by signing a passport, given by the State Department and written on parchment, commending him as a distinguished citizen to the representatives of our government all over the world, and also giving him a commission as special envoy to treat with the British government upon the regulations which they had made against the introduction of American cattle. Storrs would come on deck every day, in the afternoon—for Neptune was his superior on the ocean, and demanded from him frequent tribute—wearing a new necktie, and taking out of his pocket a waterproof envelope, produce from it the passport and his commission, solemnly read both of them to me, and then inquire what I thought would be the effect of these documents, when exhibited abroad, upon the worn-out monarchies and effete aristocracies of the Old World. Then would follow a series of those inimitable anecdotes, inimitably told, for which Storrs was famous. On the last day of the voyage, as we were sailing into the port of Liverpool, Storrs, repeating this performance, said: “It is not the worn-out monarchies and effete aristocracies of Europe that I am after, but it is old Lowell. I understand that he never entertains Americans. I am going to make him give me a dinner and let me select the guests, or teach him that ‘there is a God in Israel.’” James Russell Lowell was mortified and mad that the functions of the minister of the United States, or any

part of them, should be transferred to this peripatetic diplomat, and vigorously denounced Storrs for his bad manners, when I sat beside him a few nights afterwards at dinner. Nevertheless Storrs carried his point, and when Lowell asked him, in fear and trembling, whom he wanted to meet, supposing it would be the royalties and the ambassadors and other impossibilities, to his delight and astonishment Storrs requested him to secure, as far as possible, Tyndall, Huxley, Lecky, Tennyson and other great lights of science and literature, because he desired to meet, as he said, "Gentlemen of equal and congenial intellectual equipment." I did not hear of this at the time, but Storrs was again on the ship on our way home, and I said, "Storrs, did you get that dinner?" "Well," said he, "I will tell you. After three weeks I left London, and went upon the Continent. I was in that little room in the gallery at Dresden, absorbed, enraptured, almost translated before that marvelous Madonna of Raphael. The room was crowded. Suddenly I felt that the crowd was looking at me, and not at the picture. I turned and said, 'Ladies and gentlemen, I have come three thousand miles to see this inspired painting, the most wonderful work of the brush the world has ever known. I suppose you came for the same purpose, and yet you are looking at me. If it is my clothes, they were made in Chicago.' A gentleman stepped forward and said to me, 'Mr. Storrs, you are more interesting to us Americans than any painting, however famous. You are the only American to whom our minister to England, Mr. Lowell, ever gave a dinner.' " To make a good story, Storrs did great

injustice to the most brilliant of our ambassadors to Great Britain, and the one who has left a reputation in London which increases with the years. Mr. Lowell was not only a brilliant ambassador, but was always a representative American.

The hour grows late, and we enter upon the experiences of another year. I trust that for our country and for ourselves it may be one of prosperity and happiness. I never began the day after my birthday in more buoyant spirits or in more hopeful mood than I do this one. I thank Heaven that, in the accidents of birth, I was ushered into the world when it was still echoing with the songs of Easter, the songs of the glorious Resurrection and of the promise of the sweeter and better life. In the period when the green grass hides and makes one forget the ravages of winter, when the trees are bursting into verdure, when the flowers and fruits are budding, when the birds are mating and the whole world is full of joy, of love and of hope, a man becomes an optimist in spite of himself, and in spite of anything that may happen to him. I know not what may be your faith, gentlemen, and care not, because I accord to every man the right to enjoy his beliefs as I do mine, but my sainted mother, brought up in the strictest school of Calvinism, modified it in her sweet and angelic way. She believed that everything of importance which happened was a special act of Providence, and that while it might seem doubtful or dark for a moment, the compensation was sure to come. My experience in life, and my observations, have taught me the absolute truth of this doctrine. I see every little while men break down who are ten, twenty or

thirty years younger than myself, because of concentration and anxiety; because of work and worry upon one line, in one way, on one thing. Work is health; worry is death. Life is an enjoyment of the work by which you live, and then a larger enjoyment of the work by which you contribute, as best you may, no matter under what discouragements or what criticisms, to the living, the enjoyment and the health of others. "Variety is the spice of life," is an old adage. Variety is generous living and longevity.



Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 23, 1898.

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*Gentlemen :*

It is a compliment as unique as it is gratifying that several hundred gentlemen, representing every department of American thought and activity, should for seven years in succession, in constantly increasing numbers, tender me a birthday dinner. Coming here as you do—clergymen, judges, lawyers, doctors, journalists, men of letters and men of business—to devote an evening to good-fellowship and some serious reflection, you illustrate that we Americans can escape from the shop and enjoy the pleasures of life.

We have all of us listened to speeches nominating candidates for office and congratulating them upon their election, addresses presenting some significant gift or celebrating some honor which has come to the recipient, and we have either felt or philosophized upon the emotions of the man who is thus rhetorically decorated, but I take it that the blood never feels the electric touch of joy so keenly or conveys it so rapidly to the brain as when, with enthusiasm and spontaneity, the crowd rise and joyously greet him with that homely but most genuine of choruses, "For he is a jolly good fellow, which nobody can deny."

Seven years are said to result in a complete physiological change in a human being, but, thank Heaven, it is only matter which changes. The Spanish adage, if we may quote from a Spaniard at this time, still holds true: "Old wine to drink, old friends to trust, and old books to read." It is appreciation, laudation and gratification like that which you give to-night which promote perpetual youth and fence out old age.

Many subjects have been suggested at these annual gatherings. Some of them have been fruitful in political consequences and in educational discussion. The past seven years have been rich and revolutionary in the story of our country and the experience of our lives. The pace of progress has been too rapid for the world to adjust itself to the conditions which it has created. The war of conflicting opinions for remedies to meet the crises produced by the rapidity of modern development has produced great economic disasters and revealed the possibility of greater ones. The lesson of our whole experience has been that the American people possess resources in themselves and in their country to meet and overcome adverse conditions such as no people were ever blessed with before. The imagination cannot grasp the depth, the breadth and the height of happiness which might have been attained if the obstacles in our way had not existed. The nemesis which halts ambition, humbles pride, and perpetually reminds humanity that it is mortal, since the beginning of these celebrations in 1892 has exhibited its power upon our enjoyment of the marvelous development which has been the pride and the boast of the last half century.

We had lived in the exaltation of the results of invention and discovery. The best of all the preceding centuries seemed to have accumulated little compared with what has been done in the last wonderful fifty years by steam, electricity, discovery and invention. But this slow-going, conservative world of ours could not immediately adjust its diverse races, its different civilizations and the historic developments of its inhabitants in the several hemispheres, islands, and climates to the instantaneous competition and neighborhood of conflicting interests produced by the cable, the railroad and the steamship. When China and Canada, India and the United States, Egypt and South America, Russia and Australia, with rates of wages running from three cents to three dollars a day, the cost of living from comparatively nothing to figures demanding large income for support, the hours of work from eight to sixteen a day, the intelligence of the common school and high civilization as against semi-barbarism and ignorance, were brought in contact and competition in every market, the world's machinery was thrown out of gear. An industrial and financial cataclysm threatened the commerce, the capital and the employment of the nations. No country escaped the effects of the panic produced by this contact with the yellow man and the black man, and the products of their labor in the field and factory, and with the currency which was their medium of exchange. The nations of Europe, with their longer experience, their more settled methods of business, and the solid basis of sound money upon which their credit was founded, speedily recovered and adjusted themselves

to the new conditions. Since then there has been unexampled prosperity in Great Britain and on the continent. We have been struggling to make some adjustment and enter, as we can, more successfully upon the highways of trade and prosperity, but our difficulties have been exceptional and unusual. Our very difficulties have illustrated the elasticity, the strength and the hope of American prosperity. We have had a continuing currency crisis and the commercial disturbances and partial paralysis of two wars. President Cleveland's Venezuelan message and the panic which ensued suspended all the activities of the country for a considerable period, and gave every enterprise a setback, or so crippled it that years were required to repair the damage. There is no doubt that the time had come for a declaration of the full meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. There is no doubt but that the emphatic assertion of the protecting interest of the United States over the weaker republics of the two Americas was notice to Europe of our position which will prevent future interference and trouble. Thus, as we look back upon the incident, President Cleveland performed a significant service for his country.

In the same manner events have culminated in Cuba and with Spain in such a way as compelled action by the United States. The conduct of the negotiations by the President, and the dignified and impregnable position in which he has placed his country, are at once a source of patriotic pride and of future safety for the United States. A new and glorious chapter in American diplomacy, the humanity of the American people and the mission of liberty

on this side the Atlantic has been written and acted by President McKinley.

All our power and resources must be energized for a short, thorough and decisive campaign and victory in the war upon which we have entered. But with the Cuban irritation, which has imperilled our interests, threatened our tranquility and been a constant menace to our peace for half a century, allayed, by Spain out and Cuba free, the future is brilliant with promise and hope for our country. The nations will understand an American position which the United States can maintain by overwhelming power. No complications upon which hostilities could be based can happen thereafter within the sphere of our influence in the western hemisphere. The advice of Washington to his countrymen becomes both prophetic and mandatory—prophetic in the enlargement of its original meaning, that we should not become entangled with foreign powers by excluding from the word foreign everything American; mandatory in its prohibition of our meddling with the affairs of peoples on the other side of the great ocean, and confining our energies and our minds to the development of the destiny which God intended should be beneficially worked out by isolation of the North American continent and adjoining islands from neighborhood, association and traditions with the Old World.

Our home difficulties and dangers brushed away, the mission of America is pre-eminently for peace. I know that this sentiment is vigorously opposed. I have a friend who is an earnest, enthusiastic and conscientious jingo. He is not of the noisy and ora-

torical sort, who try to promote war to be fought out by their neighbors while they stand in safe places and shout, but he asks nobody to follow where he is not willing to lead. My friend has been a gallant soldier, and has performed excellent service in public life. He believes that the national spirit, higher patriotism and pure and unselfish love of country must be stimulated by at least one war in each generation. He thinks that the industrial disturbances and distresses which follow hostility are like the spring doses of blue pill in the old practice, necessary to purge the body politic from gross materialism. Following the lines of the old practice, he believes that occasional blood-letting is necessary to political health. I say to my other and oratorical jingo friend, "Suppose you bring about your war in each generation—will you enlist?" He says, "Of course not; my mission is that of the statesman—to advise." "But," I persisted, "suppose your countrymen follow your example. What then?" "Then," he said, "the Government should draft the beggars." But my friend, the Colonel, says, "I will head the enrollment with my own name and move at once into camp." I differ *in toto* from this theory of the mission of the people of the United States. I believe that the true greatness of our nation will be manifested by education, art, science and industry. Let the conditions in our western hemisphere be established as I have indicated, and then let our financial situation be removed from the stage of often tried and as often exploded experiment unworthy our genius for commerce and finance, and our past, wonderful as it is, will seem but the stepping-stone to the greater fu-

ture. There is no reason why we should have a panic inside of every decade which sweeps thousands into bankruptcy and hundreds of thousands into pauperism. There is no reason why every flurry of politics at Washington should suspend the purchasing power of the nation. There is no reason why the government should be at the mercy of speculators on its credit, and be subject to an accident to its specie payments of its notes which in a night and a day stops orders to the factory, and then from the factory stops orders to the mine, because the merchant dare not lay in stock and the customer dare not buy. We have experienced in the last seven years nearly an annual panic or industrial revolution producing misery and distress almost as great as those which are suffered in war.

England spends a thousand millions of dollars a year to purchase food for her labor. We raise all the food needed for our seventy millions of inhabitants, and send abroad to other nations more than a thousand millions of dollars' worth of our surplus. The product of our factory meets all our necessities and most of our luxuries, and the perfection of our machinery, the power given us in such abundance by nature, and the intelligence of our artisans are opening for our manufactures the markets of the world. The disturbance of these relations and conditions throws out of employment millions of people and puts into the dire distress of poverty, with all that means of deprivation of comfort and of the pleasures of life, many other millions who are dependent upon the wage-earners for their support. Call it gross materialism, call it cowardice, name it what you

please, I am heart and soul for the policy which energizes the forces of production and promotes national and especially individual prosperity and happiness. Keep the path clear by the application of the ordinary principles of prudence, thrift and, I will add, patriotism, then I predict that our country will be more than a marvel; it will be a miracle. The farmer can lift his mortgage, and make his home the castle which neither the sheriff nor care can enter; the workingman can own his home and feel the independence of an unencumbered hearthstone, and every occupation, every employment, will be seeking those who are willing and capable. The successes of the men of mark in the past, which are the guides and inspirations of the boys of to-day and of the future, will be repeated in more frequent examples. This is not the peace of the army of Hannibal, losing stamina, nerve and courage amidst the luxuries of Southern Italy; it is not the peace of sloth nor of enervating idleness, but it is the peace which makes strong, healthy and well-developed men and women; the peace which builds upon industry and hope, disciplined, cultured and well-filled minds; the peace which makes the nation so consciously strong that with no derogation of dignity it can go to the limit of patience to preserve peace and promote amity and friendship among nations; so really powerful that if the conditions are intolerable, and a war of right and justice must be maintained, its might will be as resistless as its cause is right.

Spanish history presents the interesting condition that she has never been conquered by an army of invasion, and, with the exception of Cortes and Pizarro



in the New World, has rarely, if ever, succeeded in her foreign wars. Her eighty-three years of contest in the Netherlands ended in defeat, and her famous armada was lost in the British Channel. Her contests with her colonies have always ended in disaster. Her wars have been frequent, and most of them for aggression or oppression.

A curious incident in her history illustrates that war seldom settles anything, and especially illustrates that any nation which goes to war should be sure that the facts upon which it bases its action are impregnable. When Walpole was Prime Minister of Great Britain, the relations between Great Britain and Spain were strained on the question of right of search upon the ocean. Captain Jenkins, who was master of an English schooner, arriving home reported that while near the coast of Cuba he was captured by a Spanish cruiser; that the Spaniards cut off one of his ears, and then let him go with his ship. Jenkins had carried this ear around for some years wrapped up in cotton to exhibit to audiences. The House of Commons took up the matter, and Captain Jenkins testified before its committee that, when his ear was cut off, he commended his soul to God and his cause to his country. The phrase took like wildfire, and all England was in a blaze. The Spaniards vigorously denied any knowledge of or connection with Jenkins or his ear. Walpole, the Prime Minister, did his best to allay the excitement, to have the matter further investigated and to settle the trouble by diplomacy. Burke called the story "The Fable of Jenkins' Ear." Parliament, however, by an overwhelming vote,

promptly declared war against Spain. The war raged for three years. It cost thousands of lives, destroyed millions of dollars of property and added millions to the national debt, upon which the people of England have been paying interest ever since. Peace was finally concluded by the combined efforts of all the nations of Europe. Then Walpole, the Prime Minister, in order to justify his opposition to the war, made an exhaustive investigation to discover who had cut off Jenkins' ear, but where, when and how it was lost is still unsettled.

One happy effect of the present crisis has been the removal of prejudice and the promotion of a better understanding between the United States and England. The friendship of the English people for us during the Spanish controversy has done more to arouse like sentiments on this side of the ocean than anything in the history of the two countries. America and Great Britain are nearer to-day to that alliance of English-speaking peoples which has been the idea of many statesmen and the dream of all men of letters of both countries than at any time in a hundred years.

This is a bright and beautiful world, and in all ages men and women have tried to find out how to escape misery and to secure happiness. Observation and reflection have taught me that happiness is possible to everybody who seeks it rightly. No one at least is anxious to climb the Golden Stairs, although we are often quite willing that many whom we know should try the experiment. I heard Horace Greeley once remark to a clerical collector, who had interrupted his composition of an editorial, and was de-

manding a contribution on the ground that it would save several millions of human beings from going to hell, that he would not give a d—— cent, because there did not half enough go there now.

Whenever I have spoken of the enjoyments of life, and the pleasures possible in every condition, the criticism has been made that my point of view was too narrow, and from a basis of continued life-long, personal prosperity which unfitted me to understand the limitations of the ordinary wage-earner. This is not the case. Happily for me my father, a successful man, with an iron will and a fixed purpose, having given me a university education and a profession, threw me out, with the remark that I would never have another dollar from him, except in his will. But for that apparent cruelty on his part we would not be here to-night. There was not a hard line possible in the experience of early struggles which did not come to me. The old gentleman would sit in his room with the tears rolling down his cheeks at my difficulties and hardships, but he never relented nor rendered one particle of assistance. Twice, through over-confidence in friends and a fatal weakness for indorsements, my accumulations have been swept away, and a load of debt assumed. It was after all these struggles and misfortunes that a rule of life was suggested, the results of which have been so happy that they easily form a code for enjoying existence applicable to every condition in life. Old Epictetus, the stoic philosopher, has laid the world under the deepest obligations. A man of genius, cultured and educated, the fortunes of war had made him a slave to a brutal Roman. It irritated the

Roman that a man in such condition could still get vastly more pleasure out of life than he did with all his wealth and the opportunities given him by being a favorite at the court of Nero. Seizing the philosopher and slave by the leg one day he commenced twisting it, when Epictetus said: "Stop. You will break that leg and injure your property."

The leg of Epictetus was broken, but his cheerful stoicism conquered. He was given his liberty, and founded one of the great schools of antiquity. The underlying principle of his faith and teaching is that God knows what is good for us better than we do. Therefore, doing the best we can to attain our end, let us accept his disposition as the wisest, and be cheerful and happy whatever our lot. Most of us remember with veneration and affection a sainted mother, deeply imbued with the sombre doctrines of Calvin. By the sweetness of her nature she gave to this same sentiment, reproduced in another form in the Genevan theologian, the beautiful and inspiring suggestion that both our successes and our disappointments were special providences working out for us the career to which we were adapted. I know that all of you can recall in your own experiences crises in your lives which demonstrated the truth of this principle. Several times you have been at the cross-roads of a career, bent upon moving to this place or that, upon joining this firm or that corporation, upon accepting this position rather than another, upon making this investment or that. Something prevented your accomplishing your purpose, and you were in the depths of gloom sometimes and sometimes despair; but as you look back now you

find that had you been able to carry out your scheme or purpose, it would have so changed as to have practically ended your prospects in life, and the choice which, against your will, you were compelled to make, is the one that brings you here to-night, not only for this occasion, but to celebrate with thankfulness and joy the good things which have come to you in life. Certainly my own career is rich in great disappointments which have proved significant blessings.

The best informed, all-round man, and the most contented I ever knew, was a barber. He was a success as a barber; he would have failed as a merchant. His shop kept him comfortably and furnished a surplus which, with great discrimination, he invested in a library, every book in which and every author in which was his intimate and familiar friend. He was the encyclopedia of his neighborhood to the preachers, the lawyers, and the students; and instead of wearying his customers with voluble suggestions as to his patent for restoring their hair on the outside of their heads, no customer ever left the chair without getting something of value lodged inside of his head.

Another man whom I watched from early boyhood to middle age was a carman in my native village who had a vital faith in the doctrine that whatever is is for the best and comes from on high, and though his troubles were many, his song in the street, as he trundled by with his load, was an anthem of joy, ringing through the houses and fairly causing the clams in the bottom of his wagon to open their shells.

His infectious happiness, loudly proclaimed in the weekly prayer-meeting, lifted saints and sinners out of themselves to a closer contact with their better selves and a clearer vision of the Pearly Gates and the Golden Streets.

One more instance is an old friend more than a quarter of a century my senior, who discovered thirty years ago that he had accumulated enough for his moderate wants. Investing it in securities which, though yielding low rates of interest, could by no financial convulsion cease to pay, he has resisted the most tempting offers to double his fortune. Released from the cares of his profession he has devoted his life to congenial literary pursuits, to music and art and travel. The most welcome of guests and cheery of companions, and hale and hearty near the nineties, he rejoices that he did not die as the fool dieth in the sixties.

I have been often told that humor, anecdote, and wit are fatal to political progress or business appreciation. We all know that the solemn, the dull, and the obtuse man captures by the impenetrable dignity which walls in his mind and imagination popular plaudits for his supposed wisdom and strength of character. But looking back over my sixty-odd years, rather than anything of honor or fame or applause that might have come from playing a false part, I rejoice in the belief that I never have consciously caused anyone to shed a tear, and have done my best, whether it was successful or not, to make people happy and cause them to laugh. The man who can honestly laugh with his whole soul and his

whole being will never betray a friend, never defraud a creditor, never cheat his neighbor, never deceive a woman, but will go through the world making friends and, more difficult still, keeping all the friends he makes. Carking care, of whom Horace speaks as always trying to ride behind us or on the same ship, has a hard time of it if we are determined to be cheerful and make others cheerful. It is possible to carry home some good thing every day. It is a duty. The women of the family may have had great vexations and the children may be fretful with studies and other troubles. I have not for years passed the twenty-four hours at the office, or on the street, or on the cars that did not furnish the little drama or farce which carried off the home dinner and made the air ripple in the library after dinner. They need not be worthy of Thackeray, or Dickens, or Douglas Jerrold, or Artemus Ward, or Mark Twain. The honest intent gives infinite zest to an effort in the home circle. For instance, a Tammany Senator, who belongs to the school of Mr. Bailey, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, and had never worn a dress suit, comes into my office after the edict had gone forth that no Democrat could hope for recognition in New York unless he had on a dress suit in the evening, and says: "Mr. Depew, I went into the Democratic Club last night and one of our people, whose favor I value, said to me, 'Senator, I never saw you so well dressed in my life.' I said to him, 'Does it fit?' 'Splendidly.' 'All right in the back?' 'Yes.' 'Then I'll buy it.' "But," the Senator sadly said, "when I went into

the dining-room the master of ceremonies remarked severely, 'What are you doing with them tan shoes?' Hully gee, Mr. Depew, don't tan shoes go among the Four Hundred with a dress suit?" Two shopping ladies from the Oranges are discussing loudly in an adjoining seat on the elevated car at which of the department stores the best lunch can be had, and with the lack of sequence produced by constant shopping, their controversy ends, not on the lunch, but on the day on which they had it. One says that she always pays her bills in checks, because then the check is a receipt. The other says, "I don't bother about giving my name and address, and maybe have the things come home all wrong, but I pay in cash and carry the bundle away with me." The first throws up her hands in horror and says, "How do you know they will not send out to you for collection a second bill?" It is difficult to estimate how much daily happiness is increased if the order is peremptory that, after you get home in the afternoon and until the next morning, no bad news shall be revealed or discussed. The tendency of the female mind is to gather news, and most of it relates to the personal misfortunes of friends and acquaintances. If told at the dinner or in the early evening, with the sympathetic picturesqueness characteristic of the feminine artist in word-painting, we have a funeral instead of a feast. But if the warning finger—which means the taboo—rises whenever the death, or the divorce, or the bankruptcy or the scandal shows its head, good digestion attends the simplest as well as the richest fare, and sleep, which means health and life, follows a bright and joyous evening.



We all have fads and know it not though they are familiar to others. Let our friends practice theirs without rebuke. They may bore us at times, but think of the exquisite pleasure they give those who are the victims of these harmless lunacies. Listen for the hundredth time to the adventure or the story and remember that Joe Jefferson's Rip Van Winkle or Booth's Richelieu never tire. Your reward will come in the happiness you give, and often in substantial form. When I was a young lawyer in Peekskill a New York dandy visiting the village cut me out. The fad of the father of the young lady was a theory which would have given the victory to Napoleon at Waterloo. I had heard the story often as a prelude to the love scene which followed the old gentleman's retirement for the night. When my rival appeared one evening I said, "By the way, Mr. Brown, our city friend has never heard your very original and remarkable story of Waterloo." When I left at eleven, Grouchy, having defeated Blucher, was just deploying his army in the British rear, and Mr. Fifth Avenue never called again.

I do not intend to tell stories to-night. I have had a warning. We are putting four new stories upon the Grand Central Depot. The other day a careless workman let a brick fall from the top. It landed on the platform just outside my window, banged through the glass and missed my head by a sixteenth of an inch. Professor Hadley remarked, "Even the Grand Central Depot will not stand four of your stories."

When Pyrrhus was flushed with victory a philo-

sophic friend said to him, "When you have conquered Italy, what then?" "I shall conquer Africa." "And when you have conquered Africa, what then?" "I shall conquer the world." "And when you have conquered the world, what then?" "I shall take my ease and be merry." "Well," said his friend, "why not take your ease and be merry now?" Gentlemen, we are all of us engrossed in the cares of business; we are all of us absorbed in the conduct of our affairs because of the hot competitions of modern life. But that man is more successful in business, has a better judgment in critical affairs of the bank, a readier apprehension of the kaleidoscopic perils of railroad-ing and a clearer grasp of the problems of law or theology or medicine who can find time, and will find time, no matter what the nature of his vocation, to "take his ease and be merry, now." The fools who give the twenty-four hours to business, and boast of it, may criticise the man who can expel business from his mind and enjoy his books, his friends, his club, the theatre, the opera, the dinner, or the dance, but the cheerful man gets dividends out of life where the other gets trouble. Such people are the Bourbons of business. They neither learn nor forget, but they sometimes get temporary reputations. Some years ago I was on an inspection tour over all of our lines with a party of railroad men. We lived on the car, and all of us worked hard all day, and when darkness interrupted work the card table carried off the evening. Cards do not interest me, and so one night I delivered a lecture to the students of a college in the town where we were stopping, and another

night I spoke at a supper of the Loyal Legion, and another at a Convention of Railway Employees, contributing as best I could to the life of the places we visited. The writers on railway subjects in the press praised the skill and practical talents for their business and the scientific methods of my friends who found rest and recreation in the game, and lamented that such vast interests should be in charge of a theorist and speech-maker like myself. Our daily labors were the same and our methods of spending the evening were different, but no one ever heard of the card-playing amusements of my associates, and my speeches were in the newspapers. It was that prince of utilitarians, Lord Chesterfield, I think, who advised that for success in life good form is better than good character, and appearances than merit.

The gray matter of the brain is like a rubber band. Stretch it continuously and keep it strained and the elasticity goes out of it, and it rots and falls to pieces. Wise judgment must be fertilized by variety, versatility and travel. My graveyard of reminiscence is full of the buried bones of those who gave out and failed in the '30s, the '40s, or the '50s, because they planted by night and reaped by day, because even the church service was simply helping to solve their business problems, and because they sedulously avoided and scrupulously denounced frivolous people like ourselves, who can frivol as we do here tonight.

Gentlemen, the mortuary tables of the men who for eight years have gathered here on my birthday would enrich any life insurance company. None of

us grow old, none of us decay, and our sentiment to-night is, that better than medical faculties and pharmacopoeias and dispensaries and mineral springs are cheerful dispositions, persistently cultivated and kept alive, no matter what the obstacles in their way, and the joys of life extracted from every situation—public, business, domestic and social.

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D., at  
the Birthday Dinner given to him by the  
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, April 22, 1899.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen :*

Since nobody wishes to die everybody must be glad he was born. It is a good thing to have a birthday, but its pleasure is increased when your friends in this substantial way indicate their joy that you came into the world. Artemus Ward said: "It would have been ten dollars in the pocket of Jefferson Davis if he had never been born." But the only limitation upon natal festivities is the necessity of making a speech. The difficulty increases when the occasion has called together a goodly company, the majority of whom have listened and cheered for eight successive years. Happily for me the life of an American is kaleidoscopic and the history of our country presents a perpetual succession of new and interesting pictures. Certainly the last twelve months form an epoch in the story of nations.

Heretofore you have honored me as a private citizen. But to-night you greet me both as the same old friend and your representative in the Senate of the United States. I shall be most fortunate, if in this new sphere I am able, in a measure, to meet your partial expectations and predictions. Certainly I am absolutely free and untrammelled. I am proud of the railway profession in which I have spent my life, but I owe to it no obligations to favor it in any

way or to treat its interests in any other manner as a legislator than all other questions which may come up for action. Public duty is very simple and not in conflict with any honest business. It is that whatever is for the public good, is also for the good of every legitimate trade, occupation and business in the country. My long connection with the work and operations of the railroads has given me a healthy contempt for politicians who believe that they can fool the people by phrases denouncing the work and those engaged in it out of whom they make money in practice. The familiar form is the lawyer who derives his fees and his living from the retainers of corporations, and in legislative halls and on the platform covers them with indiscriminate abuse. Another form is that which makes the vital business of legislation subordinate to stock speculation, the fluctuation of values and the undermining of credit. With an ingenious stock-broker, a shrewd lawyer and a skillful press agent the combination is complete. The bill is introduced, its advent heralded as a public boon and a patriotic effort in the interest of the people. The committee favorably reports, the stock of the company soon goes down, the investors become frightened and throw their holdings upon the market, and the speculators, who have sold short in anticipation of this effect, cover their contracts at a large profit. They then buy again at the panic price, the measure is quietly killed, the stocks and bonds affected resume their normal relation, the speculators are again the winners, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people who could ill afford it are the losers and legislation and legislators are injured

in that essential of government, the confidence of the people.

A hundred years ago the controversy began for and against corporations as a method for the transaction of any business. Alexander Hamilton believed that there were certain functions in the operations of commerce which could not be carried on by individuals, but must be by semipublic corporations. He foresaw that banking and transportation must take this form. He passed through the Legislature the charter of the Bank of New York. Aaron Burr, who was the leader of the opposite party, saw his opportunity, became the antimonopolist champion, assailed this bank charter, then the only corporation in our State, as endangering the liberties of the people and was triumphantly elected to the Legislature. He then procured a charter for a company to meet the popular demand for pure water in New York, and into it he artfully injected a clause under which he and his friends organized the Manhattan Bank, which celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary last week. Burr has left many descendants.

Our platform on these birthdays has always been as frank and free as a talk in the family on all questions of the hour. The flood of eloquence at the Metropolitan Opera House and the Grand Central Palace suggests some subjects, which are not yet party issues, which may be profitably pursued. After reading all the speeches, some good, some indifferent, some bad and some incomprehensible, except on the theory best expressed by the slang phrase of my Bowery

friends that the orator was "talking through his hat," I had this thought: An attack of the grippe this winter ran my pulse down to fifty beats a minute. I found that at fifty beats a minute the heart has not the force to furnish the current which will keep going the wheels of the thinking machinery. My doctor concocted a pill of strychnine, arsenic and other poisons, which, if taken in the right number, brought the pulse up to seventy, and the mental factory had the motive power for its work. If, however, the patient should take an overdose he would climb the Golden Stairs. I thought many of those speakers and many of the writers on these subjects would be benefited by my doctor's pills, and the world would be the gainer if some of them took an overdose.

The general propositions were, that it is a crime to make money and a greater crime to keep it; that we live in an age of the grossest commercialism; that our country has a worse attack than any other; that the worship of the dollar has destroyed public spirit, patriotism, religion, noble aims and high ideals. Shade of Jefferson! These apostles claim to be your disciples. They teach the seventy-five millions of American people who revere your memory that such is the result of the principles, worked out in practice, in the government which you and your immortal associates founded. Madam Rolland, as she stood at the foot of the scaffold waiting to be guillotined by Robespierre and the French revolutionists, exclaimed: "Oh, Liberty, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" I wonder how many believe all this. I wonder how many who



thus talk and write believe the American people can be brought to endorse these views or that they do not see the nonsense through the flimsy veil of lurid rhetoric. It is an indisputable fact that the whole people of the United States were never so powerful, or so prosperous, or collectively and individually possessed so much in opportunity, in liberty, in education, in employment, in wages, in men who from nothing have become powers in the community, and boys who from poverty have secured education and attained competence, as to-day. A young man who can pay a dollar for a dinner and do no injustice to his family has started successfully in his career. Here are five hundred gentlemen within these walls. There is scarcely one of them who cannot remember the difficulty, the anxieties and the work of securing his first surplus dollar. Everyone of you from that dollar has, because of American conditions and a true conception of American liberty, become a leader in the pulpit, at the bar, in medicine, in journalism, in art, in the management of industries, in the work of firms and corporations and in business of every kind. This assemblage—and its like can be gathered in every state, county, city and village in our country—illustrates that true spirit of commercialism which inspires ambition and makes a career; that true development of American manhood which is ever striving for something better in its material conditions, which has time for the work of the church, for politics, for the public service, for the improvement of the home and the pleasures of and for the family. Out, out upon this miserable pessimism! The 200,000 young men who last April an-

swered the call of the President to enlist and fight for the freedom of Cuba and the million more who wanted to be called are the answers of the youth of our land to the cry of decaying public spirit.

There were the stocks of only two corporations dealt in on the New York Stock Exchange in 1800. There have been the issues of a hundred and sixty new companies put upon the market since the first of January, 1899. Almost every form of industry, outside of agriculture, has drifted into corporations. Most of the money of the country, whether it be the accumulations of capitalists, or the fund left for the support of the wife and the education of the children, or the earnings deposited in the savings bank or put in the life insurance company, is now invested in corporate securities. At least seven-tenths of the capital and eight-tenths of the labor are under the corporate flag. A familiar generalization includes semi public companies like railroads, telegraphs, telephones, gas and electric lights, manufacturing in every form and all kinds of mining. A young man and his partners from small beginnings build up a great business. If a partner dies the business may have to be dissolved. To keep it alive, no matter what may happen to one or more members of the firm, and to prevent the majority freezing out the minority, most of these firms have become corporations, and we have a large number of familiar instances in our city. For the same reason most of the newspapers, though the ownership and control may be in the hands of one man or of a few men, have become corporations. The magnitude of modern business and its hot competitions have evolved also

the trust. I am familiar with one instance illustrating this process. A company—or, rather, a trust—was formed, and, as usual, overcapitalized, with the intention of absorbing the leading factories in a certain product of prime necessity, and then driving what are called the little fellows out of business. The little fellows put their factories into one corporation, capitalizing each at its actual value; the owners became the managers and selected the ablest of their members for the general officers. These men, understanding their business and conducting it themselves in the fight against the over-capitalized trust run by high-salaried officials who had no interest in the business, beat the trust, compelled its surrender and triumphantly vindicated their business sagacity and skill.

This tendency of the times cannot be met by shouting. As the business in this form is of necessity public because done under a public charter the state must exercise a scrutiny which would not be permitted in the conduct of private affairs. The state is bound to protect its people against any enterprise which, under the form of law and its protection, is injurious to the people. It is bound to protect the investor by keeping the electric light of publicity constantly upon all its creations. The vast wealth which has poured into our country because the world has become our debtor apparently exhausted the securities in which money could be profitably invested. Three per cent interest, after the taxes are taken out, leaves little income for the support of the helpless, which every prudent and right-minded man desires to provide. This situation was speedily grasped by

far-sighted and speculative men who have organized the present industrial craze. "Come with us," they cry, "and we can give you five per cent upon our bonds, six per cent upon our preferred stock and an income upon the common only to be gauged by the growth of the country." Three thousand millions of dollars at par of these securities have been floated since the first of January. Some of them doubtless are good, some of them bad and some good as to part of their securities and worthless as to others. The crying need of the hour is for some method by which light shall be let into every one of these corporations or chartered concerns and the public advised of their condition, their operations, their management and their right to live.

Forty years ago a very rich man was looked upon as a demigod. There were very few, they were followed everywhere with admiration, their movements were heralded and they were greeted by admiring crowds. Notwithstanding this cry about money, the time has passed when a man receives public consideration or applause simply because he has money, no matter how much. There are hundreds now who have more than the richest possessed forty years ago. They are judged wholly by the use which they make of their wealth. They are expected to so manage it as to promote and enlarge the enterprises which develop the country, distribute and disseminate money and give employment. They are held to be trustees, and are measured according to their administration of the trust. The church and charity, education and art have claims upon them which they must meet.

Hoarded money has not a tithe of the power nor a particle of the respect which it had forty years ago.

As we advance in life we appreciate more day by day the value of time. With every revolution of the earth there is less left. We must economize it. We who are active in affairs and must meet many people find out who are the enemies and who the friends of our time. The scatter-brain dissipates and the sure-footed man conserves it. The late Leopold Morse, while a member of Congress, was entertained at a big house on Fifth Avenue. A guest said: "Delighted to see you, Morse. Where are you stopping?" Morse replied: "At the St. Cloud Hotel." His friend said: "For Heaven's sake, Morse, don't do that again; that's the San Clou." The next day Morse went into his banker's, who said: "Glad to see you, Morse; where are you stopping?" Morse said, "At the San Clou." The banker said: "Come off your perch. That may do in Boston, but here it's plain English, St. Cloud." Morse, much distressed, was stopped on Wall street soon after by an acquaintance, who said: "Morse, I want to come up and see you this evening; where are you stopping?" Morse answered: "Hanged if I know." Morse should have been sure of himself and stuck to it. The man who ought to be killed after the first half hour is the one who, having made an engagement, uses thirty minutes in developing a matter in which he knows you are interested and then proceeds, having gained, as he thinks, your confidence, to exploit the scheme for which he came. I always turn that man down. A gentleman, who had been a member of Congress, came into my office one day. He first enlarged upon

the railway system of the country; then he spoke of the Vanderbilt lines in the west and the perils they might encounter from competition. Then he sent a roller flying across the floor which developed about five yards of map. He pointed out how a line between certain points would render the Vanderbilt system impregnable and, if in the hands of hostile parties, would destroy it. He wished me to raise for him, or, rather, his railroad, thirty millions of dollars. I said to him: "Do you remember the famous phrase of Pitt after the battle of Austerlitz?" He said indignantly: "I did not come here, Mr. Depew, to listen to any of your jokes, but to save your client's fortune for the niggardly sum of thirty millions of dollars." I said: "Well, do you remember what Pitt said after the battle of Austerlitz?" "No," he said impatiently; "what did he say?" "Well," I replied, "the great English statesman made this remark: 'Roll up the map of Europe.'" Said he, "Do you mean——?" I said "I do." He rolled up the map and then stated his business. Said he: "Will you give me a pass home?"

The sure-footed man is a benefactor. In the pulpit he gives you something to take home to think about and talk over at the Sunday dinner, at the bar he makes the jury in a short time think his way and the judge is influenced by his directness and lucidity. He states his business proposition to you so quickly and so clearly that you know instantly whether you can afford to embark in it or not. He dismisses his board of directors with a ten minute statement which reveals to them the exact condition and true prospects of the company. He tells a story so that

the point punctures and delights you without giving you the horrors of knowing it long before he is through. You sit beside him if you can at dinner, you select him for your companion in travel, you take him into your business if he is free and you make him your executor in your will.

My friends, we pass this way but once. We cannot retrace our steps to any preceding milestone. Every time the clock strikes, it is both the announcement of the hour upon which we are entering and the knell of the one which is gone. Each night memory balances the books and we know before we sleep whether the result is on the right or on the wrong side of our account. In some measure we can meet the injunction of the poet who said,

“Think that day lost whose low descending sun,  
Views from thy hand no noble action done.”

There is no cant in this sentiment. The noble action does not mean necessarily anything in the realms of romance or heroism. It may be the merest commonplace in business or association, a word of sympathy, kindness or encouragement, a little help sorely needed and not felt by the giver, but if it has shed one beam of brightness into the life of another the dividend is earned. The older we grow the more we realize that life is worth the living. We think too little of the fun there is in it. We are too parsimonious of laughter. We do not appreciate as we ought the man or the woman who can make us forget while we are amused. We cannot help the past and that man is a fool who lives in it. To-day is a better day

than yesterday but to-morrow is the land of promise.  
Let us walk through our pathways, be they rugged  
or smooth, believing in Browning's beautiful lines:

The earth is crammed with Heaven,  
And every common bush afire with God,  
But only he who sees takes off his shoes.







SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, LL.D.

AT THE

Congress of the Railway Employees

OF THE

MIDDLE AND WESTERN STATES

AT

Chicago, February 24, 1899.



Speech of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,  
at the Congress of the Railway Employees  
of the Middle and Western States, at  
Chicago, February 24, 1899.

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*Friends and Comrades :*

I have been for thirty-three years in the railway service. It was my good fortune in the earlier days and subordinate positions to have those confidential relations with the executive which gave me an intimate knowledge of every department of railway work. The most treasured recollections of this period are the friends who, once made, have never failed, and who were from every rank, from the foot-board to the superintendent of motive power, from the track to the general superintendent, from the machine shop to the master mechanic, from the desks in the offices to the traffic managers, the general passenger agents, the treasurers and the whole staff. An active and energetic pursuit of politics, running along with railway work, has brought me also in close contact with citizens of every profession, business, vocation and trade in the country. In this way I have been able to form a judgment upon the characteristics, the good citizenship, the intelligence and the character of railway men as they are like or differ from men in other pursuits. It is owing to the results of that study and of a more or less successful effort to master the question of transportation that I have refused in years past most tempting offers in politics, in my profession as a lawyer and in business, to remain in association with railway men and railway work.

I am glad to meet you here as the members of the Railroad Employees Political League. It is time that the men who are dependent upon the railroads for a living should look after their interests, not only as they are affected by the operation of the several companies where they are employed, but as they may be harmed or benefited by legislation. In being political, but not partisan, you have entered upon the right course. The moment a labor, a trade, a charitable or a religious organization becomes identified with the one party or the other, and can be used to promote the interests of party managers and party candidates, its usefulness has ceased. But when people who are united in the same general cause are in politics only so far as to inform legislators, governors, congresses and presidents, of their situation, of their rights, of their business and of contemplated wrongs or injuries to them, then they are able to protect themselves.

So much has been said of late years about railway power and influence that, in order to have a clearer view of the dignity and usefulness of our profession, we should take a short hour for a review of the rise, development and present position of the great carriers of the world. Empires and cities have grown or decayed as they were favorably or unfavorably situated along the great highways of commerce. The flourishing mart of to-day is the deserted hamlet of to-morrow, when new routes and better ones have diverted the course of traffic to other channels than those on which the ruined city is located. Transportation in its modern sense is one, and the most important, of the mighty agencies which make the nineteenth the most important century in the history of mankind. It has always been possible for commerce to thrive along navigable water-courses, but the difficulty in reaching the interior, the cost of transportation increasing for every mile by old methods, made population and industries impossible upon any modern scale. The

imagination is appalled in the effort to grasp where the world would be to-day and what the condition of its inhabitants if the steamship and the railroad had not been invented. It is hardly seventy years since Stephenson built his locomotive. I found a book of minutes of the directors of one of the earliest railroads—the Mohawk and Hudson—only the other day. This was one of the links which now form the New York Central. At the meeting of the board in 1831 a committee of the directors and the engineer had reported in favor of substituting an iron for a wooden rail. The directors were not convinced. They reported it back to the engineer and the committee for further investigation and report. Among the members of this board were the first John Jacob Astor and Hamilton Fish. The latter lived to see all the marvels produced by the railroad of to-day. The rail of the period was a thin strap nailed upon the wood, and this strap, getting loose at the ends, would be caught by the wheel and run up through the cars, frequently impaling the passenger or cutting off his leg or arm.

Without the railroad there would have been no Northwestern, no Mountain and no Pacific states. The few people in this vast territory between Chicago and the Pacific Ocean would have been engaged exclusively in agriculture. Their harvests, their flocks and their herds would have been useful only for the food of themselves and their neighbors. The cost of transportation would have been prohibitive. Cheap transportation by the railway has enabled the Dakota farmer to sell his wheat to the miller at Minneapolis or at Buffalo and the miller to sell his flour to New England and the Middle states. It has permitted the West and Northwest to successfully compete in the English markets with grain from Russia, Egypt and India. It has made the vast plains beyond the great lakes, which were the feeding grounds of the buffalo fifty years ago, the granary of the world. It has enabled the artisan to live, the factory,

the mills and the furnaces to exist, the mines to be opened and comforts and luxuries to be enjoyed by all the people. With a modern system of transportation wholly developed within the three-score years and ten allotted to the span of life, every family, without regard to its position in life, enjoys the comforts and luxuries in the products of other climes, other countries and other continents which even the richest could not procure a hundred years ago. Upon the table of every working man is the food which has come thousands of miles across the continent and the oceans, and in his family are the clothing, the furniture, the tools of his trade and the equipment of his home, which represent a lesson in geography of varied industries, of raw material and its place of growth and place of conversion into the manufactured product and of the lives and conditions of far-distant peoples which was hardly within the possible information of a college professor in the time of his grandfather.

Since the construction of Stephenson's locomotive, seventy years ago, there have been built in the whole world 445,000 miles of railway, which are capitalized at thirty-five billions of dollars. The aggregate length of the railways of the United States is 185,000 miles, and is capitalized in stock and bonds at ten billions six hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars. The mileage of our railroads is six times greater than that of any other country, and 25,000 miles longer than all the railroads of Europe put together. While the United States occupy but six per cent. of the land surface of the earth, they have forty-one per cent. of its railway mileage. The internal commerce of our country is so vast that the tonnage annually carried by our railroads is greater than the totals for Great Britain, Ireland, France and Germany combined, and to that may be added the ocean tonnage of all the seas also.

Railway development in the United States commenced



in 1830. In that year forty miles were built. Up to 1860 we had reached in the thirty years only 28,000 miles, or less than a thousand miles a year. The Civil War, by death and wounds, took two millions of men out of the active industries of the country; it destroyed over ten thousand millions of dollars' worth of property; it added three thousand millions to our national debt; it devastated ten States, and yet the benefits and the blessings of the abolition of slavery, the removal of the danger of disunion and the unification of the Republic in one great nation were so great that between 1865 and 1870 21,000 miles of railway were built; between 1870 and 1880 37,000 miles more, and between 1880 and 1890 77,000 miles still additional, while from 1890 to 1897 there were added 21,000 miles more. These figures are more eloquent than the most glowing utterances that have moved armies to victory, senates to action and peoples to religious frenzy. Every mile of railroad built means tens of thousands of acres brought under cultivation and opened for settlement; it means villages and cities, happy homes and industrious and thriving populations. It is safe to say that without the railway development of to-day, if the population of Europe or America were the same, the congestion would lead to poverty, starvation, misery and anarchy beyond the power of the imagination to conceive.

The equipment of the railways of the United States, by the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was, in round numbers, on June 30, 1897, 36,000 locomotives, 34,000 passenger cars and 1,222,000 freight cars. There were in the service of the railroads—that is, on their pay-rolls—at the same time, 824,000 men, and there were paid to these men in that year \$466,000,000, or 62 per cent. of the entire expenses of the railways for their operation. There were at least a million more men engaged in building cars and locomotives, in mining coal, in getting out ore, in making steel rails and their

attachments and in a multitude of other employments which exist only to supply the railroads; so that one in every fifteen of the persons in the United States who are engaged in economical pursuits or earning wages or salaries get their living from the operation of the railroads of the country. The gross earnings of the railroads of the United States in 1897 was \$1,248,000,000. Of this \$466,000,000 went for labor directly on the pay-roll; \$287,000,000 for material and supplies, which were mainly labor; \$88,000,000 for rentals to the owners of real estate, mainly occupied for yards, warehouses, docks, etc.; \$44,000,000 went for taxes; \$256,000,000 went for interest on debts; \$20,000,000 went for other charges, and \$87,000,000 went in dividends to the stockholders. To make this situation more clearly understood, of every hundred dollars earned by the railroad, forty-one dollars go directly to the employees of the company, twenty-six dollars go for supplies—which is labor—, twenty-three dollars go for interest on indebtedness and rentals of other peoples and city properties, three dollars are paid in taxes and seven dollars go to the stockholders. These seven dollars, distributed over the capitalization, yield in dividends on the stock one and sixty-two one hundredths per cent., and four and seventy-one one hundredths per cent. on the bonded indebtedness. To be entirely fair it must be understood that on about one-third of the capitalization of the railroads of the country no dividends are paid at all, which makes a higher average for the roads which do pay dividends.

When I entered the railroad service, in 1866, the rate per ton per mile for freight was two cents, or twenty mills; the average rate per ton per mile on all railroads of the country in 1898 was about seven mills. This reduction makes the rate of to-day little more than a third of what it was thirty years ago. Had our railroads received in 1898 the same rates for freight which they did thirty years ago their income would have been more than double. One

mill per ton per mile yields one million of dollars a year on the New York Central. This reduction has enormously stimulated the productive energies of the United States. The interest on the bonded debt at that period averaged seven per cent. It has now come down to about four and one-half per cent., while most of the railroads which were paying eight or ten per cent. have come down to four or five per cent. The public has received the whole of this reduction; none of it has been taken off from labor. One bushel of wheat in 1866 would carry two bushels from Chicago to New York; one bushel of wheat in 1898 would carry six bushels from Chicago to New York.

Much is said about the salaries of the general officers, but while sixty-two per cent. of the operating expenses of the railways was paid directly to the employees last year, only three per cent. of this went to the general officers. In this same thirty-three years of my railroad service, while rates have gone down nearly two-thirds for freight and one-third for passengers, the taxes have doubled. These reductions in the net earnings of the railways, because of constant lowering of rates by railroad wars and other causes, have not been felt at all by the employees. On the contrary, their wages have been constantly increased. I take, for example, the pay-roll of the New York Central, with which I am more familiar. In 1873 the average pay of engineers on the New York Central was eighty dollars per month on passenger trains and now it is one hundred and fifty dollars per month; for freight engineers sixty dollars in 1873 and now one hundred dollars; for firemen forty dollars per month in 1873, now seventy-five dollars on passenger trains and sixty dollars on freight trains. Trainmen and brakemen received in 1873 thirty-five dollars per month and now from forty-five to fifty dollars per month. Trackmen received in 1873 eighty-seven and one-half cents per day and now they receive one dollar and thirty-five cents per day. The bondholders received then seven per cent. interest on their bonds and

the stockholders from six to eight per cent. dividends on their stock. The interest on the bonds has gone down to three and one-half per cent. and the dividends on the stock to four per cent.

The building of 150,000 miles of railway in thirty years led to great confusion and to many errors and mistakes. On the one hand it stimulated an enormous immigration and settlement; the productive energies of the country were pushed to their utmost, and everywhere was feverish haste. Speculative spirit was aroused and periods of prosperity soon developed mad speculation and ended in a series of panics phenomenal in the history of business and finance. States, territories, farming communities, mining centers and cities clamored for railways. Agents swarmed over Europe presenting glowing pictures of the opportunities for homes, comfort and wealth in these new communities, and along the lines of these recently constructed railways. Syndicates and construction companies pushed the lines as far and fast as the securities could be sold in the market. As fast as the construction company had closed its account upon one line it moved to a new enterprise, and the public became the possessors of the securities of the new corporation. In most instances the line at first did not pay, and the investing public lost vast sums of money by the depreciation of the stocks and bonds, or the foreclosure and reorganization of the companies. The communities which had been most clamorous for the railways, and had felt their benefits in the increased value of their farms, in the development of their water-power and in the sudden building of their towns, soon came into collision with the managers of the lines on the question of freight rates. Politicians and demagogues who had been most active in stimulating the popular demand for the railroad saw their opportunity in promoting prejudices against it. The railway managers of that period did not appreciate their duties to the public. They were

autocratic and arbitrary, and in many instances untrained. The business grew beyond the education of men competent to manage it. It takes the qualities which produce a great general and make a successful business man on a large scale to manage the intricate relations of a railway company with its several communities, with the general public and with its employees and owners. Enormous prices for salaries and in lump sums were bid for this talent, often without success. The difference between an able and even a moderately equipped manager will be to a great railroad so many millions of dollars that his salary cuts no figure. The inability of many railway managers to grasp the situation, the panics which threw whole communities into bankruptcy or suspended industries which meant extreme poverty, and the misrepresentations of the politician who hoped to climb to power on a new issue, created violent antagonisms in many states between the people and the railroads. Then came forward a class of statesmen who formulated bills as remarkable for their ignorance of the situation as they were injurious to both the operations of the road and to the people who patronized it. The greatest and most intricate scientific problem of the age could not be solved by sweeping measures of restriction or confiscation prepared by men, however honest and well-meaning, who could not possibly comprehend the subject. The consolidation of connecting lines was violently opposed as hostile to the public interest, and the argument seemed unanswerable, but the enormous benefits to the public in the reduction of rates, the improvement of the line and equipment, the speed of trains and the disappearance of frictions at every terminal, which have resulted from the consolidation of the eleven roads which formerly made the New York Central, or the half dozen which formerly made the Lake Shore, are so universally admitted that a proposition to re-dissolve them into the original lines, and change freight and

passengers at each end, as formerly, would now raise a revolution. Legislation by the states done in this hasty and crude way threatened to sidetrack large communities and deprive them of the benefits of the seaboard and interior being brought together. It took years to grasp, even if it is now fully understood, the relations between a train of loaded cars of wheat moving night and day from Dakota to New York, requiring little for its service of the vast equipment at stations and freight yards along the line, and the local train which takes up a partly loaded car here and there and serves the communities within the state line. After a bitter struggle in our own State of New York, which lasted some years, and which threatened the commercial supremacy of the state and city, as well as the destruction of the New York Central Railroad as a dividend paying company, I met, by the authority of Mr. Vanderbilt, these commercial bodies. We discussed these questions for months; we took volumes of testimony. I became convinced that of the three methods of meeting the question—ownership by the state or by the national government, universal consolidation, not only of connecting lines but also of competing lines, and state and national supervision—the last was the true solution of the whole difficulty. It required the united strength of the commercial bodies and of the railroads to induce our Legislature, so heated had the public feeling become, to create a Railway Commission and give it these supervisory powers. It got in full operation about the time that I became President of the New York Central Railroad. For the fourteen years of my administration and until its close I was brought in constant contact with the Commission and its operations, and felt that it would be strengthened by having upon it a railway man from the working force, and securing an amendment to that effect, Michael Rickard, a locomotive engineer, was appointed. The New York Central has never resisted any order of

the Commission. Directly its orders have cost the company hundreds of thousands of dollars, but indirectly the benefits to the public and to the company have been incalculable. Every shipper and passenger and employee knows that a two-cent postage stamp will carry his complaint to Albany, and that it will be immediately heard. He need be at no expense, for the commission will undertake to act in his behalf.

The railway question has disappeared from New York politics. Vindictive, oppressive and striking railway bills have disappeared from the legislature. The people have so much confidence in the Commission that its recommendations meet with the approval of the legislatures and governors. If I may be personal, the best evidence of the disappearance of the railway question from our politics and of the recognition by the people of the Empire State that a man engaged in the railway business is doing his part as a citizen as honestly and is entitled to as much consideration and confidence from his fellow-citizens as those who are following any other pursuit, is my election this winter to the United States Senate. It received the support of every newspaper of my party and of every newspaper of the opposite party, except possibly two or three. There was no contest and no canvass, no campaign, no committee, and not the expenditure of a dollar, and yet the election was unanimous. The significance of this is that I have been fourteen years the official head of one of the greatest railway corporations of the country and chairman of the recent association in which were represented all the lines east of Chicago, and stood before the public as conspicuously in this relation as any man in the United States. The disappearance of this feeling in New York was noted in 1888, when, for the first time in the history of our state politics, the delegation in New York was unanimous for the same railway president as its candidate for President of the United States. I retired from that contest because

the delegates from the so-called Granger States told me that the feeling in their states against railway men in every branch of the service was so intense that a station agent or a locomotive engineer, or a conductor, could not be elected a trustee of any village on their lines, and that the nomination of a railway official for President would disintegrate their party in their states. I heard one of those delegates make a speech to a rural constituency, in which he argued, without interruption or objection, that every penny paid by the people for freight or passenger travel was a tax and tribute wrung from them for the benefit of money sharks in Wall Street. The line on which he lived had not paid a dividend to its stockholders in years, and the money which it earned went mainly to keeping up its track, its equipment, its stations, its yards, in other words, to the labor of his fellow citizens, who, directly or indirectly, received their living from this corporation. That man was elected to many offices on this issue, and at the same time earned his own living as a lawyer by the fees which he received in trying cases for the railway companies. Now, it is such frauds, humbugs and rascals that it is your duty to politically crush.

While this storm was raging around me at the National Republican Convention, in 1888, there came into my room one day one of the deputy grand masters of one of the railway orders—I think of the firemen. Pushing me away from the crowd into another room, he said: “My boy died yesterday, and while my wife and I were sitting in the house to-day and reading the morning papers my wife said: ‘Mr. Depew is being attacked so bitterly because he is one of us that, notwithstanding our sorrow, I wish you would go and see him.’ I came,” he said, “simply to say for the railway employees of the country that they believe that in you their fight is being made for the same recognition by their fellow citizens that is given to bankers, to merchants, to farmers, to



lawyers, to doctors, to ministers and saloon keepers in promotion to public office and responsibilities." The poor man, overcome by his own grief and the emotion of his message, threw his arms around me, kissed me and went away. It was the seal of the common brotherhood which binds in one mighty effort all railroad men of the United States to stamp out this unjust stigma upon the most useful of occupations, the most honorable of industries and a calling which requires the highest average of sobriety, integrity and intelligence.

To be personal for another moment—the gentleman whom I succeed in the United States Senate is Senator Murphy. He is a very estimable man and personally a friend of mine. His business is brewing beer. Not a word of objection has ever been made by any newspaper or public man to his sitting in the United States Senate, though beer is the foundation of our internal revenue taxation. The people of New York believe, even if some in the rest of the country do not, that a railway man is quite as likely to reputably serve the public and promote the welfare of the whole country as a brewer.

The great change in the railways of to-day and of the creative and settling periods is that individual ownership has disappeared. There is no railway system in the country one-quarter of whose stock is owned by any one interest. Any management which treats all its stockholders alike, which is free from rings or inside arrangements of any kind by which a few get rich at the expense of the rest, will be continued by the stockholders in office as long as the returns are satisfactory. That management must do something more, however, to remain in power than have simply satisfactory returns. It must satisfy the public, and it must have from its employees that efficient and healthy service which comes only from their satisfaction with their employment and devotion to its interests. When I first entered the service of the New York Central Railroad the vast

majority of its stock was owned by one man and the balance by a few hundred others. Now there is a constituency of about fifteen thousand; now its stock and that of the other solvent railroads is owned by people of moderate means and by savings banks and life insurance companies whose investments represent the hard-earned savings of the working people.

Legislation on railway matters has become not only of great moment to the stockholders, but of much greater to the employees. When unwise laws injuriously affect the operations of a railroad line the manager at once calls together the members of all the departments. He says: "Under the operations of this law our earnings have been cut down—so much. That will prevent our paying dividends," or if the road is not paying dividends, "That will prevent our meeting the interest on our bonds and our company will go into the hands of a receiver. Now our official lives are at stake. If the stockholders are dissatisfied the directors will turn us out; if the road goes into the hands of a receiver, some politician may be appointed by the court and he will turn us all out. Where can we cut down expenses to meet this loss of net earnings?" The only elastic thing left is labor. Of course these reductions mean, in the course of a few years, the impairment of the line and its equipment; they mean very much poorer service. The General Superintendent says, "By making poorer time and consolidating trains I think I may lay off twenty per cent. of the trains." The Road Master says, "I can take three or four men a mile off the track." The Master Mechanic says, "I can reduce the hours in the shop to half time, or lay off half of the men." This process continues through the yards, and in every department. A practical and horrible lesson was given in 1894, when one hundred thousand men were dropped off the payroll. That meant an incalculable amount of misery. Railway employment is a

special vocation. The conductor, the locomotive engineer, the fireman, the brakeman and the switchman cannot readily adapt themselves to anything but what is known as common labor, and for that they are not fitted.

Now, legislators and public men do not mean to do injustice, except a few demagogues. The rest are honest-minded to do what is right. In states where the railway prejudice exists they expect the railroad president, or the railroad manager, to be unscrupulous, and place little confidence in his statements, but a committee of the employees, intelligently understanding the question, would be listened to at once. They would be listened to especially if the politicians knew that these active, intelligent and efficient workers, as all railroad men are, in the political parties in their several districts, meant business; that they proposed to take the same care of their interests that other labor unions do of their interests, that farmers do of their interests, that bankers do of their interests, that manufacturers do of their interests. It is here where your league will be of very great benefit to the members of every department of the railway service.

You ask me, in your letter, to say something about contracts between railway companies, known as pooling contracts. I believe that the right of railway companies to form associations and to enter into pooling contracts should be granted, but only under the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission. I believe in strengthening that Commission, increasing its powers and adding to its dignity. The subjects which it considers and determines are of the most important in the country. It should be a tribunal of such power and tenure of office as to attract the highest character, equipment and talent. The Commission should stand next in the confidence of the people to the Supreme Court of the United States. A committee of Congress attempting to deal with the question of tariffs, for instance, a question which requires as much expert knowledge and long training as to be a professor

in mathematics in the best college of the country, are wholly at sea. They cannot judge how far a rate from Chicago to New York is dependent upon a rate from Kansas City to New Orleans or Galveston, or from St. Louis to Baltimore, or from the Northwest through Montreal to Liverpool. But the Interstate Commerce Commission would be competent to decide, having only this business and being in constant session. Give them absolute power over any pooling contract and then this vexed question is largely removed from the immature judgment of politicians and placed in the hands of a competent tribunal. The Interstate Commerce Law was passed to prevent discriminations. Its operations indicate the mistakes which a great, patriotic and able body, dealing with a thousand subjects, can make in providing ironclad rules for the transportation companies. Because the conditions of our internal commerce and of our export and import trade through various ports and Canadian outlets are constantly changing, this situation can only be wisely administered by a bureau of the Government possessing very elastic discretionary powers. The Interstate Commerce Law was enacted to prevent discriminations, and yet its operation has been to create combinations and trusts, to destroy the independence of the individual, to injure small places and small industries beyond all other agencies combined.

Competition is the remedy provided by the Interstate Commerce Law to prevent discriminations. The object of the framer of that law was to stimulate the normal efforts of rival lines to draw business from each other. The Commission and the author of the law now frankly admit that the method has intensified the evils it sought to cure. Railway competition differs from that known in trade. If a merchant or manufacturer fights a rival concern, and has the longer purse as well as business brains, he drives his adversary into bankruptcy and out of business, then buys up his stock

at ruinous prices, and, having a monopoly, makes up the losses of the contest by larger sales and increased prices. But the state fixes the passenger fares, and under the common law as to reasonable rates, puts a limit upon freight charges. The semi-public service rendered by the railroad justifies these restrictions. When a railroad goes into bankruptcy, the territory of which it is the sole outlet has interests so great that the courts will not permit its sharing the fate of insolvency. The court runs it regardless of its owners and for the public convenience. The big shippers are always seeking exclusive favors, and they bargain with the weak line for all their shipments. This fills that line's capacity, and the other lines maintain rates which will give some return to the investors in the properties. The advantages possessed by these favored shippers on the bankrupt road enable them in the close competition of common markets to defeat and absorb similar enterprises in other localities, and that product goes into a trust. Then the trust or combination controlling this article of necessity fixes its own price to the producer and consumer, and distributes its freight among the roads at its own rates. In short, it becomes the master of the railroads as well as of the public. It is the genius of our institutions to foster and promote individual efforts. The greatest and surest prosperity to the country lies in a multitude of industries in many places, and not all concentrated in few hands and at large terminal cities. The interest of both the stockholders and employees of railroads is to have many shippers, instead of one or two, and business at as many local points as possible. From your standpoint, my friends, distribution of patrons and places means more trains, more cars, more men in the shops and yards, more activity at every station, and with better rates, larger earnings for the betterment of the road, the increase of its facilities and public service, and the return to its stock and bondholders of fair dividends and interest.

No other way has yet been devised to accomplish these results than pooling contracts made under the supervision and control of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

This supervision and control takes away the dangers which were apprehended from these combinations. The Government becomes a party to the contracts. The Government judges of their reasonableness before they can be executed. The Government keeps its eyes and hands upon their workings and modifies or annuls them as the public interests require. One line runs for a thousand miles through an agricultural country, with few industries, and has heavy grades, many bridges across rivers and is handicapped in other ways; but that line is the life of the community it serves. Another line runs between the same terminal points, but on it are large towns and thriving factories, and its prosperity has enabled it to improve its line and equipment up to the highest standard, which cheapens cost of operation. The better line gets double the business and can carry for much less cost than its rival. By the present process the weaker line builds up great shippers and gradually impoverishes the business and places on its line. If it could contract with its powerful neighbor, they could resist the combination and protect the people, and each other. I have not time to discuss government ownership. I have studied the workings of this system in Europe. The service is such as would not be tolerated in this country after our experience. The rates are double ours because the government finds this an easy way to raise revenues. The employees are virtually in the military service and governed by iron rules and discipline. They are the mainstay of the government party in elections, and their places are dependent upon voting as they are ordered. Their pay is about half that received for similar service in the United States. A brief experience of mine shows how with us the whole

operation of the roads would be at the mercy of politics and its accidents if the railroads were owned and run by the Government. The mayor of a city came to me and demanded that the station agent be removed and a friend of his appointed. The mayor was of my party, the agent of the opposite. The agent was an efficient and capable officer, and the mayor's friend the best political organizer in that county. I said to the mayor: "If I did this, the service would be demoralized. The men know now that they are sure of their places and of promotion for competency and fidelity. This action would be notice that in the future their positions would be at the mercy of local political leaders, congressmen, mayors and members of the legislature and boards of aldermen." He threatened if I did not comply his city would impose various burdens which would cost the company one hundred thousand dollars a year. If his man had been appointed, he would have changed the whole force at the depot and yard in six months. There were several men there who had been on the road a quarter of a century. I told the mayor I would pass a dividend fighting for our men and their rights, and the board of directors unanimously sustained me. After passing some nasty ordinances, the mayor dropped the matter.

I have enforced the same rule for every one from the President down, through all grades of the service, and that is, every employee is entitled to the full exercise, enjoyment and expression of his politics or his religion, the same as any other citizen, and any superior officer who interfered with a subordinate in these matters should be immediately dismissed.

The secret of mutual good understanding and friendly relations between the corporation, its investors, its employees and the public is publicity and discussion. The open door is the policy of success. I am proud of the fact that during my fourteen years as President no stockholder or bondholder, no committee from any

neighborhood or from the employees ever failed to find ready admission to my office, and a frank interchange of views and information on the subject of inquiry or the grievance. No such committee ever left the office without the matter having been satisfactorily settled. The most enlightened and beneficent civil service prevails on the railroads. There is a certainty of continuance of employment and recognition of ability which exists nowhere else. With scarcely an exception, the heads of departments have come up from the ranks and started on the bottom round of the ladder.

There are a million workers in this great and useful industry. The movement of the internal commerce of the country so that all parts may thrive and our producers and workers be enabled to compete in the markets of the world, and the safe, comfortable and speedy carriage of our people, is our function in the community. We care for an investment so large that it is the foundation of the credit and financial solvency of the Republic. We are brethren in this honorable employment. Let us foster an honest pride in our profession, and defend its rights and its dignity.







THE WHOLE QUESTION OF TAXATION IS REMITTED BY THIS BILL TO  
THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF PUERTO RICO. HERE IS  
THE CHARTER OF PUERTO RICAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

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## S P E E C H

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,  
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Monday, April 2, 1900.

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WASHINGTON.

1900.



SPEECH  
OF  
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

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The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. 8245) temporarily to provide revenues for the relief of the island of Puerto Rico, and for other purposes—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have been listening with great interest to the many and very able speeches which have been delivered upon the Puerto Rican tariff. I have endeavored to find in them a solution of the singular political conditions which seem to have arisen out of the presentation of this measure. I have thought perhaps the fact that the country is divided into storm centers and normally placid conditions is due to the extended discussion of the constitutional question having obscured the real meaning of a measure of revenue and relief.

There is no division among the majority in either House as to the power of Congress to legislate on this subject. The majority all agree that the Constitution does not extend by its own power over these new possessions, and that Congress can legislate for them as it deems wise, subject only to the prohibitions upon Congress in the Constitution. The Democratic party accepted the other view, that the Constitution does extend by its own force into the territories, from the moment that it was invented by John C. Calhoun for the purpose of carrying slavery into the new Territories, when

it was impossible against the aroused conscience of the country to secure legislation to that effect. It is but fair to say that while the action of the country by the unanimous consent of all statesmen and of all parties for fifty years, and the trend of the decisions of the Supreme Court, sustain the power of Congress to take the whole or any part of the Constitution and the laws of the United States into new territories and to establish governments for them, yet the questions raised by the acquisitions of Cuba, Hawaii and the Philippines, when presented to the Supreme Court, must result in such a broad and comprehensive interpretation as will make clear for all time the position of the United States upon the government of territories which come to us.

While the practical part of this measure has received some consideration, yet it has resulted in pictures of Puerto Rico and its inhabitants which are utterly misleading. The lower house of the Iowa legislature the other day adopted a resolution for free trade with Puerto Rico on the sentimental ground that her people had accepted our sovereignty willingly, while other islands were resisting it. The sudden collapse of the Spanish power, and the almost instantaneous dropping into our hands of the island possessions of Spain, found different conditions in these possessions. It is admitted, for instance, that Cuba is to be under our Government only until she is capable of governing herself. We all know that, with the revolutionary elements and professional agitators of that island, if any excuse or opportunity had been offered there would have been a revolt against our authority. We all know that in the Philippines there would have been universal acceptance of government by the United States except that professional agitators, who revolu-

tionized for revenue and had made fortunes in previous revolts, played upon the imagination of an ignorant people and led them into insurrection, hoping the United States would follow Spanish precedents and purchase their allegiance. It is equally true that in Puerto Rico the population is so poor and so crowded, and the conformation of the island makes it so easy for an army to put down insurrection, that, though the same government existed in Puerto Rico as in Cuba and in the Philippines, it was impossible to inaugurate revolution in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Ricans knew that they must come under some government, and after three hundred years of Spain hailed with delight the transfer to the United States.

Puerto Rico has been pictured here and presented to the country as if it were a Vermont, a Massachusetts, a Connecticut or an Iowa, populated by an intelligent and educated people who had instantly grasped the problems of government and the institutions of the United States, and were in all respects fitted to early assume a place among the States of the Union; that prior and preliminary to this statehood they were entitled to every privilege, every law, every constitutional right which belongs to the citizens of the States. Puerto Rico has been described as a bride decorated with flowers and tropical coloring, and in culture, education and training worthy to be the companion and helpmeet of the idealization of the highly developed, liberty-loving, and broad-minded American.

To get a horizontal view of this question we must come back to the testimony of Puerto Rican citizens and foreigners and of the officers of the United States which was given before the Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs. Like judges and juries who see and hear the

witnesses, the members of that committee who, for hours every day during three weeks, saw these witnesses and heard their testimony, received impressions stronger than the cold type of the evidence presents.

Right here I wish to express my profound appreciation of the great ability and conscientious industry with which the chairman of our committee, the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER], has conducted the investigation and the legislative management of this measure.

Puerto Rico is more thickly populated than any country in Europe. It is one of the most fertile territories on earth. From seashore to mountain top it can be cultivated. With capital, enterprise, and modern machinery the possibilities of increase in its productiveness can not be calculated. It is a little over two-thirds the size of Connecticut, but has a much larger population. Its industries are purely agricultural. As in all countries where there are no varied industries, the young men and the young women have no opportunities to engage in different pursuits. Where agriculture is the only occupation of thickly settled communities the conditions of India are repeated, and so there prevails in Puerto Rico a widespread and grinding poverty unknown in Europe or in America. There are, in round numbers, a million people upon the island. Seventy thousand are negroes, 250,000 of mixed negro and white blood and about 700,000 are the result of the settlement by the wild adventurers, of all races and nations, who, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, sailed and fought on the Spanish Main. One hundred thousand of these people can read or write; about 50,000 can do both. Nine hundred thousand are in absolute ignorance.



Of this million, 800,000 derive their living from agricultural pursuits. They live in huts, consisting of one room; they have work only during the season for coffee, for sugar and tobacco. The children from ten to sixteen years of age earn about ten cents a day; vigorous manhood receives thirty cents, and old age, again, from ten to fifteen cents. They live on sugar cane and the fruits that grow, and are so cheap, in the Tropics, and it is estimated can sustain life on five cents a day per individual. Most of them have never known bread or meat as it is familiar to our people. They are hired by the day, the contract closing with the sun. By this means the owners of the large estates are free from responsibility for their care or maintenance, a responsibility which would come if the contracts were by the month or by the year. There are no schoolhouses in the island. Thus eight-tenths of this population are ignorant of politics, of government, of Spanish or American rule, and intent only upon the always immediate and exigent necessity of subsistence and life. In the majority of the families the heads are unmarried because they had not the money under Spanish rule to pay the expenses of the marriage ceremony, civil or religious. The 200,000 remaining consist of the landholders, merchants and factors, and of the carriers and skilled artisans in the towns and the small storekeepers in the country.

The island itself consists of two millions of acres. There are 1,200,000 acres in pasture, 181,000 in coffee, 70,000 in sugar, 14,000 in tobacco and the rest is in forests, orchards, gardens and underbrush. The land of the island is owned in 43,000 estates. A large proportion of these owners are Spaniards, English and other

foreigners. The coffee, sugar and tobacco estates are mortgaged for about one-quarter of their value at rates of interest varying from ten to twenty-five per cent. The profits of production are so great, even with the antiquated machinery in use, that with normal crops and with the Dingley tariff in full force, as it has been, against them for the past four years, they were enabled to meet this interest and enjoy as much prosperity as is possible under Spanish rule. The government by Spain was oppressive to a degree. The taxes were enormous, no roads were built, no schoolhouses erected, no public improvements maintained, but these great revenues were dissipated by the Spanish officials. There was no justice in the courts, favoritism and bribery being universal. There was no habeas corpus, and civil rights were not respected. Arbitrary arrests were made and citizens lay in dungeons for years because there was no way by which they could get a trial. The Spanish Government gauged its exactions by the profit of the planter, and managed to take nearly everything that the planter could make which he could fairly call net above maintenance, his own support and the interest upon his debts.

For the five years preceding our occupancy the average yearly value of the exports of the island was \$16,000,000, of which \$10,000,000 were coffee, \$4,000,000 sugar, \$700,000 tobacco, and the rest molasses, cattle and hides. Such was the condition of this island when it was occupied by our troops, and submitted to our authority with scarcely a struggle. The introduction of American methods and government were rapidly producing most beneficent results, when a calamity occurred which has no parallel as affecting the whole people of a country.

As will be seen from these figures, the great staple of the island, which employed, in one form or another,

nearly three-quarters of the population and capital, was coffee. The coffee plantations are upon the steep mountain sides, and run from the foothills to the peaks. The coffee berry can not thrive under the tropical sun unless protected by partial shade, and so the original forests which clothed these mountain sides were cleared of underbrush and in its place the coffee-bearing trees were planted. The hurricane which swept over the island destroyed nearly the whole of these plantations. It threw down the forest trees or broke off the branches, and they fell crisscross, producing a network over the coffee bushes which made the farm a wreck. Under the tropical sun the weeds which choke the berries unless kept out began to grow luxuriantly.

The testimony showed that every day added to the danger of the annihilation of the coffee plantation; that in six months most of the coffee-berry plants would be killed, the plantations would have to be planted anew and it would take five years for the plant to reach maturity. The coffee planters, being, all of them, in debt, had no credit and no resources with which to clear off their farms. They had no machinery, but could have worked out the problem by the superabundance of labor with which they were surrounded if they had had the capital to employ it. The hurricane produced very great but not equally disastrous damage upon the sugar and tobacco plantations. So within twenty-four hours 800,000 people were left without any occupation or means of support, and the proprietors without any credit or money with which to clear their farms and employ the laborers who were clamoring for work and starving all about them. I have no hesitation in saying that if the island had not in this distress been under the United States, but had remained under the old

Spanish régime, the amount of suffering and starvation would have appalled the world. But the President and the Secretary of War, acting through General Davis and the officers of the Army, used about \$1,000,000 of the emergency fund in feeding these poor people and in preventing one of the ghastliest horrors of modern times.

The suspension of coffee, sugar and tobacco industries reacted upon the people in the towns who lived by handling these products and by furnishing the supplies to the people of the interior. There was paralysis on the one hand of the purchasing power of their former customers, and on the other of the occupations by which they themselves earned a living. With the island in this stricken condition, and the people in this deplorable situation, it was impossible to raise revenues for schools, for roads, for courts, for police or for any purpose of government by direct taxation. The Puerto Rican government must be supported and the means found for the recuperation of Puerto Rican industries and the resurrection of Puerto Rican farms and the salvation of the Puerto Rican people either by taxing the people of the United States, by taking money bodily out of the United States Treasury and pauperizing the island, or by finding a method by which the island itself can secure income and credit. It was when these conditions had become familiar to our committee that we changed our bill from free trade to the tariff measure which is now before the Senate, a tariff measure which is not a Chinese wall, not an oppressive act of arbitrary power, but the most generous and beneficent revenue system ever adopted by any government, because it gives to the island of Puerto Rico not only the duties collected at

her own ports, but the duties collected under our laws at our ports upon products coming from the island.

When Daniel Webster was charged with being inconsistent in his later opinion, he said, "It is the privilege of wise men to change their minds." The members of our committee do not make any special claim to wisdom, but we have considered this question with open minds. The President has an open mind, and in view of the later and overwhelming testimony about Puerto Rican conditions, is satisfied with the solution of them which this measure gives. General Davis, the governor of Puerto Rico, whose ability and fairness no one questions, has an open mind, and after disbursing a million of dollars for the relief of the Puerto Rican people, and becoming personally familiar with their conditions, on March 31—that is, last Saturday—gave this authoritative opinion:

I have not felt it proper for me to discuss Congressional matters, filling, as I do, an executive position. I have expressed my views fully, however, on Puerto Rico's needs, and I might say if Congress should adopt free trade the receipts of the custom-houses would naturally cease. One million five hundred thousand dollars has been collected during the fiscal year, and with free trade this will fall off. What, then, will run the island? Although I have received no official advices regarding an appropriation, I understand through the newspapers that an appropriation was decided upon, and I infer that this appropriation will be spent on insular government expenses. If free trade is adopted I can not see how the necessary funds for the conduct of the affairs of the island are to be raised by myself or those who succeed me. Two million dollars are the present expenses, and this amount will be needed annually. There is only a small revenue incoming from stamps, liquors, tobacco, and mercantile licenses, and it is impossible to collect taxes because of the conditions.

I wish in this connection to congratulate my friend, the honorable Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], that he has an open mind. He introduced on Friday our

original bill as a substitute for this one, which shows that my eloquent and able friend is within two months of us. [Laughter.] Within twenty-eight hours this bill is going to pass; the procession is moving on, and he had better get into the band wagon before it is too late. I say to my friend, the Senator from Georgia, and his colleagues, that within twenty-eight hours is the opportunity. There are vacancies on the praying benches for salvation, and they had better come in. [Laughter.]

We come naturally now to the question of hardships upon the Puerto Rican people and of cruelty to the inhabitants of our new possessions by the proposed legislation. We were told with wonderful eloquence and passionate rhetoric when the Puerto Rican relief bill to appropriate \$2,000,000 was before the Senate, that it was our plain duty to return to the people who have paid the duties under the Dingley tariff act since our occupation the money which had been collected. The whole policy of the Republican party, from the President to Congress, has been to give back to Puerto Rico all the taxes levied and collected upon her products at the ports of the United States and also all duties collected at her own ports—to give them back to her for the purposes of her government and for the purposes of her improvement and her progress. These duties had been paid by the sugar trust, which controls the sugar products of the island, and the tobacco trust, which controls the tobacco product of the island—two of the richest and greatest money-making corporations in the world. They had bought the sugar and tobacco at a price which included the Dingley tariff duties and sold them to the people of the United States at a large profit after the duties were paid. In the bill which we have just passed appropriating this \$2,000,000, instead of

paying these duties back to these corporations, which have been the subject of so much abuse and with whom we have been charged with being allied, we have given them back to the people of Puerto Rico for their school-houses, for their roads, for the relief of their starving and for the employment which will come in the proper administration of the fund.

The analysis of the productions of the island which are exported shows that about five-eighths is coffee. There is no duty on coffee, and so there is no outrage there. There is a duty at present of \$1.60 per hundred pounds upon sugar and \$1.85 per pound upon tobacco under the Dingley tariff act. There are millions of dollars' worth of this sugar and tobacco, owned by the sugar and tobacco trusts, which is held from the market and stored in warehouses in Puerto Rico awaiting the action upon this bill. This sugar and tobacco was bought from the planters of Puerto Rico at a price which included these Dingley tariff duties and still left a large profit for the purchaser. Every concession made from the Dingley tariff is that much more clear profit, not to the producer, or the laborer, or the citizen of Puerto Rico, but to these purchasers of their products. So by this act we are, out of the hundred per cent of additional profit which the sugar trust and tobacco trust would receive under free trade, taking fifteen per cent for the people of Puerto Rico and leaving the purchasers eighty-five per cent for their own income. The only difference between the original recommendation of the President of the United States and the action of the House of Representatives and of the Senate committee is in the method by which the people of Puerto Rico can receive the whole of the revenue from the tariff.

The President's recommendation of free trade was

made in order that Puerto Ricans might have the use of these duties in Puerto Rico by not having to pay them--that is, by keeping the money for public purposes in the island. The proposition of the House of Representatives and of this committee is that those duties shall be collected and returned to the people of Puerto Rico, because it is the only way by which the people of the island will get a dollar of benefit from them. Now, from whom will they be collected? In the last twenty-five years sugar has fluctuated as much as any other product in the market; coffee has been subject to the opening of new sources of supply, to failures of crops and to all those elements which add or take away from 25 to 50 per cent of the market price. But while coffee and sugar importers have grown rich and by their skill, their capital and their far-sightedness been able always to calculate future prospects and to make money, no matter what the conditions, the laborer upon the plantations who produced these crops has never known any difference in his wage. Unhappily for him, the labor market was always overstocked; unhappily for him, there was no industry but the land to which he or his family could apply for help. He was "the man with the hoe," meeting all the conditions of Dr. Markham's remarkable poem. He was too ignorant to know when good times were making fortunes for those who handle the product which he raised by his labor; he was too poverty stricken to subsist in an organized effort to increase the remuneration for his toil. It will be many a year before these conditions change for the masses of the Puerto Rican people. They can never change when an overcrowded population has but one means of livelihood and there are no varied industries for its relief.



Then who pays this tariff, and who gets the benefit of it? For the first time in the history of Puerto Rico it is paid by those who make money out of her, by those who are enriched by her toil, by those who are far removed from the ignorance and the suffering and the squalor of her population. The tariff money taken from them goes really to the people of Puerto Rico who never before received any benefit. It will go for schoolhouses and school-teachers, which will make the next generation worthier of citizenship and self-government; it will go for roads, which will give employment and opportunities for other industries than merely agricultural; it will go for those ordinary functions of government which must be maintained or you have anarchy, and they will be maintained by this process without those burdens of direct taxation which, in the present condition of Puerto Rico, would be such a terrific brake upon her progress.

Now as to the charge that it will stifle the industries of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican coffee, representing five-eighths of her product and of her labor, will come in free; Puerto Rican sugar and tobacco will come into our ports in competition with the sugar and tobacco of Cuba. Puerto Rican sugar and tobacco, when the Dingley tariff applied equally to both Cuba and Puerto Rico, found a ready and remunerative market in this country. Under the operations of this bill, by which full tariff duties are paid by all others and only fifteen per cent of them by Puerto Ricans, the Cuban sugar man will pay in Dingley tariff duties \$1.60 for every 100 pounds, while the Puerto Rican sugar man will pay 24 cents. The price of sugar, because of the enormous demand in this country, which is in excess of the supply, will be maintained.

The Cuban sugar dealer will make a profit after paying \$1.60 duty, and the Puerto Rican sugar man will make the same profit with an addition, on account of the concession of 85 per cent to him of \$1.36 on every hundred pounds. This will practically give the controllers of the sugar product of Puerto Rico a return of from fifty to eighty per cent on their investment. Precisely the same conditions and precisely the same excess of profit will be the good fortune of the Puerto Rican tobacco producer or dealer under this concession of 85 per cent from the Dingley tariff as against his Cuban competitor. There can be but one result of this concession of 85 per cent to Puerto Rico as against Cuba, and that is an enormous stimulus, on account of the enormous profit, to both sugar and tobacco areas and productions in the island of Puerto Rico.

Bearing in mind these figures and these enormous profits under this concession of 85 per cent from Dingley tariff duties, and still greater profits with free trade, the following opinion from President Havemeyer, of the sugar trust, is a contribution of great importance to this discussion. It settles emphatically in what direction lie the interests of the sugar trust:

NEW YORK BUREAU CHICAGO TRIBUNE,

*New York, March 29.*

President Havemeyer, of the American Sugar Refining Company, was the center of interest in speculative circles to-day, owing to the cut of 5 cents a hundred pounds announced by the Arbucks and the possible action of the Havemeyer interests. The sugar king, in discussing the whole situation, was plain and outspoken regarding the position of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and declared that there was no reason in the world why sugars should not be admitted free of duty from those countries.

"I am much in favor of it," he said, "and I believe the time is not far off when they will be admitted free of duty. Why, both of those countries are part and parcel of the United States, and no matter what action Congress takes, I am confident the Supreme

Court will hold that the products of those colonies are entitled to free entry here.

"There is no more reason why a duty should be placed upon the products of Puerto Rico than on stuff coming into New York from Long Island. There is only a wide ditch between the United States and Puerto Rico. Well, if Puerto Rican sugars are brought in free, it will not be long before some similar policy is adopted with reference to Cuban products."

Here also is the opinion giving Saturday by W. T. Townes, president of the Puerto Rico-American Tobacco Company:

W. T. Townes, president of the Puerto Rico-American Tobacco Company, says that the proposed tariff will keep Puerto Rico out of the American market; that Puerto Rico will sell to Europe, China, and Japan, and not a pound to the United States.

Puerto Rican industrial conditions, because of surplus population, lack of remunerative employment and paralyzing poverty, have thrown the transactions of the island into a few hands. As I have said before, the land is divided into 43,000 estates in a population of 1,000,000 people. The business of supplying the demands of the population, as well as handling the products of the island, is conducted by comparatively a handful of as keen and enterprising business men as there are in the world. Under these conditions they will control the price both of the things which the island consumes and which the island produces until education, intelligence and varied employments have redeemed the island. A startling instance is given of this by cable, which informs us of the rise in the price of food during the last few days. Under the Executive orders of the President all breadstuffs now enter Puerto Rican territory free of duty, and yet the few men who control the supplies which feed the Puerto Rican people and import them from the United States, though they go in absolutely free, have raised the price 100 per

cent to these poor, starving people, who are unable to get any relief. The tariff of 15 per cent if it had been imposed would not raise this price; it would be paid by these dealers. It would amount to four cents a barrel on flour, and to a proportionately small amount on other products, but the vivifying influences of revenue in the hands of an intelligent government and the great profit in the importations would speedily open the way for the farmers of the United States to ship into that market their products in such measure that, while they made money, these exactions could no longer be imposed upon the Puerto Rican people:

Under this bill this tariff lasts only two years, and may be ended by the Puerto Rican legislature at any time. It is a tentative measure; it is wholly for the benefit of the people of Puerto Rico; its proceeds are used for no other purpose than to improve their conditions and enlarge their opportunities. Congress is always in session, and two years will be an object lesson in the experiment of caring for and governing the Puerto Ricans.

The singular thing about this whole matter is the isolation of sentiment. There seems to be a storm center of hostile sentiment in Indiana and none in Ohio; that there is a fever in Minnesota but not in Michigan; that there is great indignation in Oregon and not a particle in New York or Pennsylvania or New England, except Vermont. Why Vermont at this season of the year should melt is one of the mysteries of the phenomena of nature. [Laughter.] It even warmed up my distinguished friend the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] into a glowing sympathy and tenderness for free trade as a panacea for a stricken people which I

have seldom witnessed, even with the most emotional of my friends. Why is it?

The history of remedial legislation presents no example of baseless excitement like that which prevails over this measure in certain parts of the United States. The localization of the storm is unprecedented. It has great volume and force in one State, with little evidence of it in the adjoining Commonwealth. A Northwestern State may have the fever, while the Middle States and New England are normal. In every instance in the contests of parties where a principle was at issue, the sentiment of the party in one State has been equally pronounced in every State. This phenomenal localization of interest compels the conclusion that a mere matter of providing means for carrying on government and relieving distress has been exaggerated into an acute struggle over a fundamental principle of right, or morals or both.

This bill is the people's law. It restricts, as far as can be done, the power of trusts or combinations or concentration of industries. It puts upon the free list these products going from the United States into Puerto Rico—the food products from the American farmer—so that the American farmer has this market free as against the agriculture of other countries, whose imports must pay Dingley tariff rates. It gives to the Puerto Ricans the fullest opportunity for cheap food. Agricultural implements, which are so necessary for the resurrection of island cultivation, and the adoption of modern machinery to aid in lower cost and larger crops, are free. Rough lumber for mills, coopers' materials for sugar, molasses and tobacco, and bags for coffee, are free.

Carriages to cheapen transportation and trees and plants to give variety in crops by raising large and small fruits, for which the island is peculiarly adapted, are free, as are all drugs which are used in the malarial diseases of tropical countries. In a word, every product of the farm or factory in the United States which will help Puerto Rico, enable her to rise triumphant from her ruins and give remunerative use for capital and employment and wages to her people, are on the free list. The luxuries consumed by the prosperous are, as they ought to be, taxed for the support of the government.

But this is not all. The whole question of taxation is remitted by this bill to the people and government of Puerto Rico. Here is the charter of Puerto Rican self-government. It is the spear which punctures the huge and swaying balloon of tyranny, oppression and violations of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence so laboriously blown out and expanded in the past few weeks. While standing on the collapsed canvas, and viewing its tragic mottoes, listen to the plain and passionless words of this bill:

SEC. 4. And whenever the legislative assembly of Puerto Rico shall have enacted and put into operation a system of local taxation to meet the necessities of the government of Puerto Rico by this act established, and shall by resolution duly passed so notify the President, he shall make proclamation thereof, and thereupon all tariff duties on merchandise and articles going into Puerto Rico from the United States or coming into the United States from Puerto Rico shall cease, and from and after such date all such merchandise and articles shall be entered at the several ports of entry free of duty; and in no event shall any such duties be collected after the 1st day of March, 1903.

In a word, what is all this contention about? What is the apple of discord which is lashing some friends to

fury? The President proposed free trade, and this bill gives free trade in all the necessities of life, in all implements and manufactures required for the resuscitation, development and working of industries, and a tariff amounting, on the average, to six per cent upon their market value, on other products.

This tariff comes off by operation of law in two years, and as much sooner as the people of the island, through their own legislature, decide to abolish it because they can raise the revenues necessary for the support of their government, their roads and their schools, and for their general welfare by direct taxation.

The opposition to this bill is the result of the usual tactical operations for advantageous positions in a Presidential year. The Calhoun theory of the Constitution and the century-old fight of free trade to destroy protection have made a united and desperate charge upon the policy and provisions of this measure. The Democratic position in regard to our island territories is clearly defined. They will claim that the moment any territory becomes the property of the United States by conquest, purchase, cession or discovery it is under our Constitution and laws; that its people and products have the same rights and are entitled to the same freedom of movement all over the United States as the people and products of any State in the Union; that statehood must speedily come and can not be denied; that this would break down every protective barrier against pauper labor and admit free into our ports the things produced by people working in our tropical possessions for a few cents a day and would degrade our citizenship, and, therefore, if they get in power they will at once abandon these islands.

The Republican party stands upon the action of Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, Pierce and Seward, that Congress has the power to govern these acquisitions subject only to the prohibitions of the Constitution.

I was very much pleased in listening to my friend, the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], to find him advocating what Jefferson did and what Monroe did and what Pierce did and what Polk did, because they were all Southerners and all Democrats. At the same time he vigorously opposed precisely the same legislation for our new possessions which they had enacted for territories acquired by them. We stand where Jefferson did and legislate as he legislated; where Monroe did, and legislate as he legislated; where Pierce and Polk did, and legislate as they legislated. But my friend and his associates have wandered far from these old leaders of their party.

I recall for the consideration and admonition of my Democratic friends that story of General Jackson's governorship of Florida, to which he was appointed by President Monroe, under the act of Congress of March 3, 1821, providing "that all military, civil and judicial powers shall be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct." He claimed and exercised the executive, legislative and judicial functions of government under this commission, and was sustained in them all. As legislature he enacted laws which brought him, as governor, in conflict with the ex-governor under Spain. As governor he promptly arrested and imprisoned that ex-official, and as judge proceeded to punish for contempt the Federal district judge, who had issued a writ of habeas corpus for the



Spaniard's release. It was after all this that he became and has since continued to be claimed as leader, counselor and inspiration for the Democratic party.

Under this power we can and will provide both for the development of our new possessions and the protection of industries and employment within the United States. As time and experience demonstrate the necessity for new laws and changes of existing laws, they will be enacted, but always with intent to maintain the high standard of American citizenship and the scale of American wages. Preferential tariffs will promote trade between the United States and all these islands.

Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, Tutuila and the Philippines are to be held and governed by the United States with an imperative duty on our part to their inhabitants for their civilization, the encouragement of enterprises which will utilize their resources, and for their constantly increasing participation in their local and general governments, and also for their and our commercial progress and growth. I do not believe that we will incorporate the alien races, and civilized, semicivilized, barbarous and savage peoples of these islands into our body politic as States of our Union.

Order, law, justice and liberty will stimulate and develop our new possessions. Their inhabitants will grow with responsibilities of governing themselves, constantly increasing with their intelligence into conditions of prosperity and happiness beyond their wildest dreams of the results of that self-government they now so vaguely understand, while the United States, in the increasing demand for the surplus of our farms and factories in Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, and in the tremendous advantages of position from



ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS BY  
DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,  
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

UPON

THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY HIM,

THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1902.

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WASHINGTON.  
1902.



**If United States Senators are to be Elected by the Direct Vote  
of the People, the People Must Vote.**

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**S P E E C H**  
**OF**  
**HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.**

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**ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.**

**Mr. DEPEW.** I submit an amendment to the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators of the United States by popular vote instead of by the legislatures, and I ask that the amendment be read.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The proposed amendment will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by **Mr. DEPEW** to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 41) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators of the United States, namely:

The qualifications of citizens entitled to vote for United States Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be uniform in all the States, and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation and to provide for the registration of citizens entitled to vote, the conduct of such elections, and the certification of the result.

**Mr. DEPEW.** Mr. President, I will briefly state my reasons for proposing this amendment to the pending resolution amending the Constitution of the United States by providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote instead of by the legislatures of the several States. The adoption of this amendment to the Constitution revolutionizes our scheme of government as it was devised by the framers of the Constitution and as it has existed and worked admirably for one hundred and fifteen years. The idea of the founders of the Republic was a popular assemblage elected by the people and then a Senate in which all the States, large and small, should have equal representation. The Senate was to be a body in which the sovereignty of each State had its

representation in the nature of an independent republic, and the sovereignty of the State necessarily must be represented in its corporate capacity. It was not because of distrust of the people that this provision was adopted, but to create a chamber of independence and dignity in which the States, without consideration of size or population, should have an equal voice in their sovereign character.

The amendment under consideration, to which I offer an addition, proposes to make the Senate a popular body and reverse the principle upon which the Government has existed down to the present time. With the adoption of such an amendment to the Constitution, if it is adopted, this addition which I offer to it is the clear and logical sequence.

A number of States have by various devices prevented a third, or a half, or more, of their citizens, recognized as such by the Constitution of the United States, from exercising the right of suffrage. The local reasons which have led to the adoption of these measures are not pertinent to this discussion. The adoption of these new constitutions in several States, however, containing "grandfather" and other clauses and devices to take away the privilege of voting from those who are made citizens by the Constitution of the United States, has led to a movement in the House of Representatives and in the legislatures of some of the States to change the representation in the House of Representatives from population to the reduction, under the Fourteenth Article of the Constitution, of the number of representatives in Congress of any State based proportionately upon the number of male inhabitants of such States, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, who are denied the right to vote. That will reduce very largely the number of Congressmen which those States are entitled to. That measure does not receive the attention it would because, the House of Representatives being elected by the people, the vast majority of populations vote by manhood suffrage, and, therefore, the States in which they so vote have such a large majority in the House over States which restrict the suffrage that they do not feel acutely the discrimination which these measures bring about.

But if in the election of United States Senators a small oligarchy in any State can send here a representation equal to that of great States like New York which have manhood suffrage; if States in which half of the votes are disfranchised are to have an equal voice in this body with States like Pennsylvania, of five or ten times their population and with manhood suffrage; if New York, which casts, because of its manhood suffrage, 1,547,912 votes, is to be neutralized in legislation affecting her vast interests by Mississippi, casting 55,000 votes, because the majority of her citizens are disfranchised—then the situation becomes intolerable. If United States Senators are to be elected by the direct vote of the people, the people must vote.

I am not, under ordinary circumstances and normal conditions, in favor of the proposed reduction of Representatives in the Southern States; I am not in favor of any legislation by the General Government which interferes with the local affairs of those Commonwealths; but if the door is opened by the adoption of this amendment to the Constitution for the changing of the character and constitution of the Senate of the United States, then that measure must necessarily be accompanied by power to insure a full and honest vote of the citizens of the Republic, and protect this body in the election of those who may be designated here as Senators.

There are nineteen States which have in the aggregate less population and smaller industrial, commercial and financial interests than the State of New York, which are represented here by 38 votes, while New York has only two. Twenty-three States, with a population of thirteen million seven hundred and fifty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-four (13,755,364) and casting two million three hundred and sixty-three thousand two hundred and eighty-five (2,363,285) votes, have a majority in the Senate, while 22 States, with a population of sixty million eight hundred and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven (60,851,857) and casting eleven million six hundred and nine thousand one hundred and seventy (11,609,170) votes, are in the minority.

If a popular vote could be had as at Athens, where the whole

body of the electors gathered on the Attic plain, and after hearing the candidates expressed their choice, I should be heartily in favor of it. That was possible in a small and compact community like Athens, but impossible in our States. The present proposition is simply to make the State conventions of the political parties, which are in session one day, and whose members can not know or consult with their associates and are elected or appointed by every process but the vote of the people, which are bodies generally of nearly a thousand delegates, which administer no oath of office and keep no records and have no responsibility, a substitute for the two houses of the State legislature whose members are nominated and elected upon the Senatorial issue, and must go upon the record and to their constituents on their votes. The State conventions submit to the voters a ticket of from six to twelve candidates for various offices, and the people can only vote for one or the other ticket, and they generally do it as a whole and upon party lines. The United States Senator would be upon those tickets bunched in with candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, judgeships, attorney-general, State treasurer, State comptroller, and other purely State and local positions. In a body like the Senate, where experience and service count for more than in any other legislative assembly in the world, Senators would probably in the trading of localities, like governors, never have more than one, or at most two, terms. The voter, if dissatisfied with the nominee, is helpless except to vote for a candidate for Senator on the opposition ticket, who will, if elected, act and work for the next six years against every principle, measure, and policy in which the voter believes. The legislature, on the other hand, has one question before its members when they are elected, one candidate to be voted for who is discussed in the press until the legislature meets, and when the legislature votes the whole State is interested, and practically present, and the question of the highest importance for the moment is, Who of our citizens who have demonstrated ability and distinction for the position can best represent this Commonwealth in the Senate, where its interests are to be advanced or protected in a grand assembly of independent and coequal sovereign States?



I have the profoundest reverence for the Constitution. Every scheme of government in every other nation of the world has failed and been changed during the last century. Our Constitution alone has stood the test of time, experiment and expansion, and has proved the most perfect system of government ever devised for a self-governing people. Revolutions never go backward. With the proposed change in the constitution of the Senate the people will and ought to be fairly and equitably represented here. The next and inevitable step will be to have the people and not the States control this body. Now the Senate can not go behind the legislatures of the States and investigate the election of their members, but it can investigate a charge of irregularity or corruption in the legislature in the election of a Senator. With election by the people all the polling places are legislatures, and the Senate can go into the regularity and returns of every election precinct and contests of Senatorial seats will be the leading work of every session.

The invasion of the States by partizan committees, inquiring into qualification of voters and the accuracy of the counting and returns under their State election laws, would be little short of a national calamity, and the contests in this Chamber upon their reports would be derogatory of the dignity of the Senate and impair its usefulness. But such committees would be the result of every contest or dispute.

An amendment to the Constitution, providing that each State shall have two votes in the Senate and one additional vote for every 500,000 inhabitants, has been introduced by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. If the change should be made from the election of United States Senators by the legislature, which represents the sovereignty of the State, to a popular vote, it is a serious question whether the representation does not cease to be that of the States and become the representation of the people. It is also a serious question if after the change in the constitution of the Senate is adopted by electing Senators by popular vote, and such an amendment as that of Senator PENROSE should be submitted by Congress and adopted by three-fourths of the States which have the greater populations, whether the Senate, being

the sole judge of the qualifications of its members, could not admit this enlarged membership, and thus make the Senate in every sense a popular body, like the House of Representatives, and end forever the influence and power of the smaller States. If that did happen, and it would be the natural and inevitable sequence of the proposed reversal of the fundamental law, policy and practice of our Government for the past one hundred and fifteen years, the equality of the States, as now assured in the Senate, would be destroyed and the revolution would be complete.

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A commanding figure and positive force has passed  
out of our public life.

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MEMORIAL ADDRESS

ON THE LATE

SENATOR HANNA

BY

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

APRIL 7, 1904.



WASHINGTON.

1904.



# MEMORIAL ADDRESS

BY

## SENATOR CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

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The Senate having under consideration the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: A commanding figure and positive force has passed out of our public life. It is difficult to estimate the qualities of leadership, but the facts remain. Neither the progress of civilization nor the development of the education and independence of the individual has minimized the power of a commanding intelligence. On the contrary, organization keeps pace with progress. The individual is not submerged in the mass nor left helpless as the slave of a tyrant, nor food for powder as in ruder times, but he looks to and loves to follow a leader for the accomplishment of purposes which will benefit both the mass and its units. "All for one" was the motto of the past. "All for one and one for all" is the maxim of the present. Napoleon brushed aside the charge that he was the butcher of his age by saying, "I only killed a million, mostly Germans." He did not reckon the countless millions who died of starvation and disease as a result of his wars and devastating marches. He did not reckon the suffering and ruin which required a century to repair.

The requisites for leadership are different in every age. Neither Cæsar nor Napoleon would have any place in our country or under our conditions. The problems which produced Washington, and afterwards the great trinity of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, and still later Lincoln and Grant, are not ours. They led their forces into battles for the bases upon which government should be constructed and institutions founded. Our age is dominated by commercialism. Like all phrases which concentrate in a word the description of conditions, this one has been subject to abuse, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation. For thirty years, or since the adjustments which followed the civil war, the United States has been a workshop. Its industries and their development have been as dependent upon politics and the triumph of political policies as was the existence of the Government of the United States as a great central power, or its division into sovereign States before the civil war. Each party promises success to commercialism by pleading that its ideas crystallized into legislation will bring larger and more remunerative employment to labor and capital, form more new enterprises, lead to larger development of resources, and produce more beneficent results to the people.

These questions are not new, but they had always been subordinated to others which related to the safety or the character of our institutions. Now they are dominant and have produced a new type of leadership. In the front rank stood our departed friend. He was the product as well as the organizer and commander of the forces of commercialism. His origin and growth were those of every boy whose alma mater is the public school. It equipped

him for a clerkship in a store, which is the lot of millions who graduate every year. What happens afterwards, what career is found and followed to higher and better conditions, depend entirely upon the character, ambition, and efforts of the boy. The restless and resistless vigor of this farseeing youth could not be kept behind the counter nor confined to the countingroom. When to the culture of the common school had been added business training, he saw that to advance quickly he must open a new avenue of trade. Like many another of our most successful citizens, he found it in solving a local problem of transportation. It was easy for him to persuade capital to trust him. It was one of the few cases where capital, confiding in the promoter, escaped loss and made large profits.

To bring the iron ore of the Northwest from the mines across the Lakes cheaply to the furnaces in Ohio was simple enough, but, like the great feat of Columbus, which has been repeated down the ages, of making the egg stand on end, was his solution of the greater problem. This next step was natural to such an original and creative mind. Coal and iron must be brought together at the furnaces by the elimination of the countless charges of middlemen. He became an ironmaster, with his own lines on Lake Superior, his own transportation across the Great Lakes, his own coal fields connected with smelting works and mills. The minerals in which he dealt underlie the whole American continent. They can not be corralled or controlled as is possible with other products of nature which are only to be found in limited territories. He was therefore compelled to fight his way in the field of hot competition against the ablest and most successful of business men. The results of this struggle are preeminently the survival of the fittest. Statisticians who have studied the question prove that in New York City, where energy, talent, and capital come from all parts of the country and have larger opportunities than can be found at home, only one in 200 succeed. The other 199 fail and are submerged. In the open country the disasters are not so dreadful, but the great successes are equally rare.

It was not long before Mr. HANNA was confronted with the labor problem. Labor organizations were little known and had no combined existence at that time. The aspirations of labor, seeking a fair share of the production in which it was such an essential part, led to sporadic revolts, which were almost invariably defeated. This born fighter, with undaunted courage and a physical power controlling, in a measure, an aggressive mind, followed the methods in vogue in the early period of his career. One of the characteristics which made the varied success of the Senator was his open-mindedness. He saw earlier than any of the other great employers that labor had rights, and that it was to the interest of the capitalist both to grant justice to labor and to win its confidence. He abandoned hostilities for the much more difficult path of conciliation and arbitration. Ten thousand employees of his, who when he died mourned the loss of one who stood to them as a father and a friend, testified to the wisdom and success of his policy.

A life of strenuous business struggling, of reaching out for new fields to conquer, of education by absorption in the questions affecting industrial safety and development, of contact with and increasing knowledge of human nature in every walk and work continued until Mr. HANNA was in his sixtieth year. This was the education, preparation, and equipment which from the ob-

security of business brought into the light of publicity and command, almost in a day, HANNA the party organizer, the party leader, the President maker, the Senator, and the statesman.

In his early business life, still very young to have climbed so high, and while fighting labor, he had on trial a score or more of his striking employees. A young enthusiast, whose heart controlled his mind, who possessed an almost feminine emotional and sentimental nature, was defending them. The argument of McKinley evidently opened the mind of HANNA to new ideas upon the relations of capital and labor. The advocate and worker immediately became fast friends.

Comparatively late in life came to him the belief that nothing is so imperatively necessary to the business man as politics. Costly experience had taught him that the successful outcome of his shops, furnaces, and mines was dependent upon the industrial policies of the Government. He had the easy confidence of the man triumphant in his ventures, that he could forecast and meet trade conditions. But the factor of legislation was beyond his power of calculation. He finally was convinced that the accumulations of a lifetime of hard work and the material future of himself and family depended upon the economic and financial measures of Presidents and Congresses. Without any thought of obtaining or holding office for himself, he began to build the bulwarks which he thought necessary about the protected industries of the country. With an audacity and confidence born of his triumphs in trade he set about to capture the Presidency for his faith. McKinley's illuminating speeches on the tariff convinced HANNA that in the Major he had found the man for his purpose.

There were many men in the party of longer service, larger following, and greater reputation. But HANNA brought to bear to win the favor of the people the methods of his business. He knew the virtue of publicity and promotion. He planned a speaking canvass for his candidate which covered every State, because he believed in the magnetic personality and persuasive eloquence of his friend. When, after many months, Mr. McKinley returned, the Senator said to him, "I thought you would be dead;" and McKinley replied, "From the itinerary you gave me I thought your purpose was to kill me." The tour and the literature which went out unceasingly from HANNA's press bureau captured the convention before it met and side-tracked every other candidate. The unknown ironmaster of Cleveland had beaten the veteran politicians and nominated his friend. Now came a new test of his ability, because the successful candidate placed in his hands the conduct of the campaign. To publicity and promotion he added education. At hardly any period in our history had the country suffered under such severe financial and industrial depression. At such times, as in periods of epidemic, public anxiety and frenzy seize upon novel remedies.

The silver panacea, however, was not new. It had secured much favorable legislation from both parties and was undoubtedly favored in the minds of a large majority of our people. McKinley himself was not free from advocacy of and belief in silver theories. Unexpectedly the currency question overshadowed that of the tariff. No such campaign was ever conducted before, and it would be difficult to repeat it. It required millions of money for its successful prosecution. Colporteurs were on the country roads in every county and State distributing the campaign literature which HANNA was having printed by the ton. The school-

houses resounded with the eloquence of thousands of orators, whose expenses must be met. The literary bureau furnished plate matter and contributions to the press, much of which had to be paid for as advertisements. The commanding general alone knew the magnitude of the machinery and the colossal character of the forces he had called into being. With the same talent for administration and attention to details which had made his success in business, he knew the conditions in every State, county, and township, in every division, regiment, company, and corporal's guard of his army better than the local commanders themselves.

The results of the election demonstrated the necessity for this tremendous effort, for McKinley's popular majority in the total of 18,923,102 was only 601,854. The business man, known as such only in the branch of the trade with which he was identified and unknown to the people in June, 1895, was in November of the same year the Warwick of American politics and the most powerful man in the United States.

The President wanted him to be a member of his Cabinet, because of the intimacy of their relation; but HANNA, the business man, the representative of commercialism in public affairs, knew that his power would be subordinate to that of the President as one of his Secretaries, while in Congress his hand would be in the formulation or defeat of those measures which he conceived essential to the welfare, employment, income, and happiness of the American people.

Quite as suddenly as he grew to be supreme in political management the Senator became an orator. He had been accustomed in the boards of directors of many corporations, where the conferences were more in the nature of consultations than arguments, to influence his associates by the lucidity with which from a full mind he could explain situations and suggest policies or remedies. He did not dare, however, except on rare occasions, to trust himself upon his feet. We, his associates, can never forget the day when a mighty passion loosed his tongue and introduced into the debates of this body an original and powerful speaker. It was June, 1900. The Presidential campaign for the second nomination and canvass of President McKinley was about to open. Senator Pettigrew, an active and persistent laborer in the ranks of the opposition, was seeking material in every direction which would benefit his side. Without notice he suddenly assailed Senator HANNA in his tenderest point. He attacked his honesty, truthfulness, and general character. He accused him of bribery, perjury, and false dealing. HANNA'S reply was not a speech, but an explosion. It was a gigantic effort, in his almost uncontrollable rage, to keep expression within the limits of Senatorial propriety. He shouted in passionate protest:

Mr. President, the gentleman will find that he is mistaken in the people of the United States when he attempts, through mud slinging and accusations, to influence their decision when they are called upon at the polls next November to decide upon the principles that are at issue and not the men. When it comes to personality, I will stand up against him and compare my character to his. I will let him tell what he knows; then I will tell what I know about him.

The newborn orator carried his threat into execution by a dramatic and picturesque speaking tour through South Dakota, in which, without mentioning Mr. Pettigrew or referring to him in any way, he took away his constituents by convincing them that the doctrines of their Senator were inimical to their interests and



prosperity. The Titanic power the Dakota Senator had evoked was his political ruin.

From that time Senator HANNA participated influentially in debates upon those industrial questions which he so thoroughly understood and which were near his heart. The United States had been committed for thirty years to an isthmian canal by the Nicaragua route. It came to be considered as "the American line." The resolution in its favor had passed the House unanimously. Senator HANNA gave to the study of the question, which was purely a business one, a mind long trained in construction and contracts. He came to the conclusion that we should build on the Panama route. There have been many speeches in this Senate more eloquent, more scholarly, more profound, and more erudite than the one delivered by Senator HANNA in favor of the selection of the Panama route; but when this man of business and affairs, of supreme intelligence in the creation and prosecution of business and enterprises, this constructive organizer in trade, who had found his talent for explanation, instruction, and argument, sat down, he had accomplished that rarest of triumphs, the command of a listening Senate.

Perhaps in the final reckoning of his place and achievements, his work in the Civic Federation will stand foremost. At first capital and labor both distrusted him. They thought there was a hidden political motive or personal ambition at the base of the movement. Capitalists who were unfriendly to labor and labor agitators whose profits depend upon trouble united in fighting HANNA as they often had done in fighting peace, but the genuine, patriotic, and broad-minded labor leaders soon became his ardent friends, while the distrust of capital was slowly disappearing. When he died the people recognized that his unselfish object and aim was to close his career by creating such relations between these tremendous forces that both would be benefited and the industrial interests of the country placed upon a safe and peaceful basis.

One of the most interesting phases of the life of Senator HANNA was his friendship with President McKinley. The men were wholly unlike; they had nothing in common. HANNA was a fighter, and he loved and lived in the storms of battle. McKinley was a diplomat, whose tact amounted to genius for the peaceful settlement of controversies and conversion of enemies. HANNA had the rare faculty of forecasting events and taking advantage of them which easily accumulates millions and the rarer common sense which keeps the fortune. McKinley in a large and comprehensive way could formulate and popularize policies which promoted prosperity and increased national and individual wealth, but the art of making money was for him an insoluble mystery, and he could not master the intricacies and details of business.

There is only one parallel instance in our history, and that is the relation between William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed. As HANNA believed that his economic and financial views were essential to the present and future happiness of the country, so Weed thought that the destruction of slavery was necessary to the preservation of the Union. As HANNA felt that he must have in the Presidency the ablest advocate of his theories, so did Weed believe that the most brilliant and profound orator against slavery should be kept in public life, and ultimately promoted to the Chief Magistracy. Thurlow Weed was one of the ablest and most expert of political managers. For thirty years he ruled his party in the State of New York, and subordinated all his power, skill, craft,

and diplomacy to advance the political fortunes and keep in the Senate and at the front Governor Seward. Mr. Seward was devoid of the talent which controls caucuses and manages conventions, and so was McKinley. Weed, after twenty years, had the Presidency almost within the grasp of his candidate, and lost it by an accident. In less than a year HANNA had succeeded. Mr. Seward possessed an intelligence of wonderful insight and philosophical grasp of moral issues with the faculty of inspiring beliefs and inducing efforts to bring about the events he forecasted.

McKinley's talent was upon the practical plane of the questions of our day which affect more nearly employment, wages, and homes. Between the practical politician of New York and her greatest statesman there never existed much personal intimacy and confidences. The politician looked upon the statesman with awe and admiration, and the statesman wondered at the talent, and the results it accomplished, of the politician. But late one night during the Spanish war, when all was anxiety, I went to the White House with Mr. HANNA. The optimistic radiance which always characterized the President had given place to worry and gloom; but when he turned to his visitor and caressingly placed his hands upon Mr. HANNA'S shoulder his countenance assumed all its old-time happiness and confidence, and he uttered with a depth of feeling and affection which no words can describe the word "MARK." Everyone was impressed with the fact that two souls with kindred thoughts were linked in a love which "passeth all understanding."

The career of a leader who does not at all hazards and at any risk of loss stand by his friends is a short one. The same is true of a leader who having defeated his enemies seeks to crush them. The accumulated forces of many vendettas will ultimately destroy him. HANNA would go to the death for his friend, and he inspired such loyalty and love that his followers would die for him. He often attached to himself a defeated enemy by a grateful and unexpected favor.

A schoolmate of Mr. HANNA, himself now a creator and manager of great enterprises and known everywhere, told me that the boys of the public school got in trouble with a street peddler and were in danger of being seriously injured when MARK HANNA came in sight. It was not his quarrel, but it was enough for him that his friends were in peril, and he rushed into the fight with such savage fury that the lads were encouraged, the tide of battle turned, and the burly bully put to flight. The act of the boy was the lifelong conduct of the man.

"How soon we are forgotten" was the pathetic utterance of the returning Rip Van Winkle after twenty years of absence from his village. Time soon obliterates the footprints of public as well as of private characters; but occasionally a rare personality becomes immortal by capturing the public imagination and winning the people's heart, but such a man must have been long before them and with them fighting their battles. HANNA is the exception. Eight years from the time of his entrance upon the public stage he died. Millions waited anxiously upon the hourly bulletins of his health. Millions mourned silently when he was no more. The President and Cabinet, ambassadors, judges of the Supreme Court, Senators, Congressmen, and captains of industry were at his funeral, but the sincerest tributes to his worth, his patriotism, and the beneficent work of his life were the thousands of working men and women who stood for hours in the deep snow and wintry blasts with bared heads and tear-stained cheeks while their best friend was carried to his last resting place.

SPEECHES

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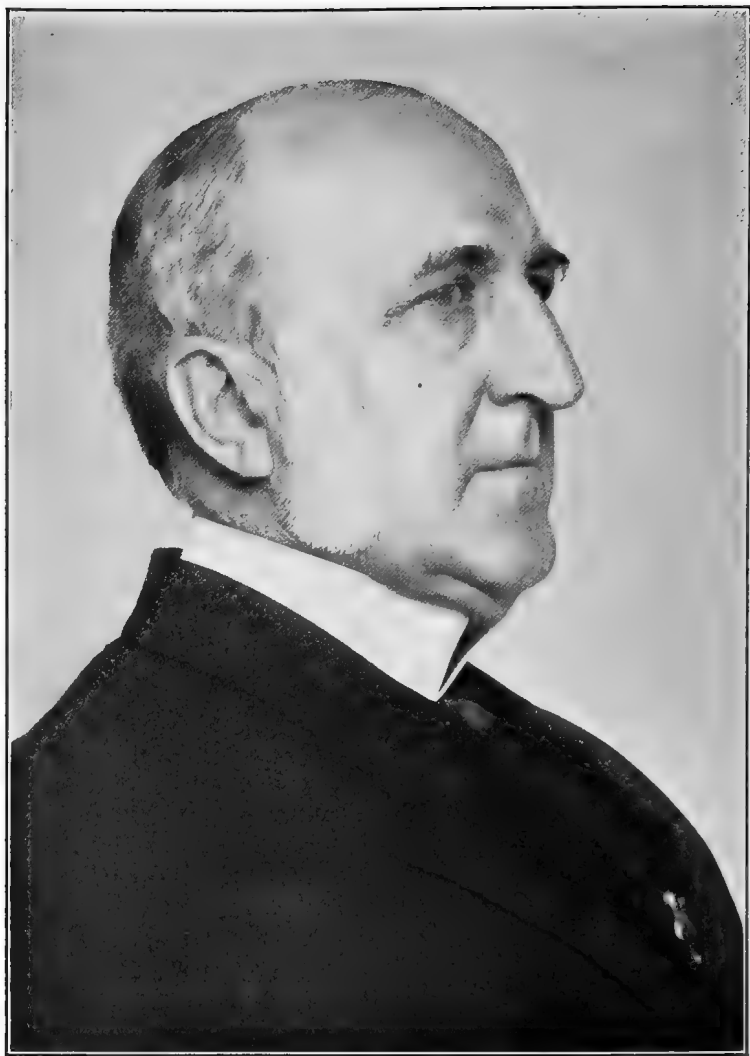
Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

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NOVEMBER, 1896—APRIL, 1902







Yours Truly,  
Chauncey M. Depew.

# CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW SPEECHES

BY

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, LL.D.

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**Before the Vermont Society Sons of the  
American Revolution, at Montpelier, Vt.,  
November 23, 1896.**

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**Heroes of Vermont.**

Mr. President and Gentlemen: In no state of our sisterhood of commonwealths can a celebration which recalls the glorious memories of the revolutionary period be more appropriately held than in Vermont. Nowhere is a Society of the Sons of the American Revolution more at home. Vermont is as unique and original in her history as in her mountains and lakes. She was never a British colony, and yet maintained a separate government against the great power of New York on the one side and New Hampshire on the other and the orders of the English King. Her life began in rebellion against arbitrary authority and resistance to royal orders and colonial courts in defense of the rights of her people. The early settlers of Vermont furnished the example and set the pace for the people of the colonies in resistance to tyranny. They were trained like the border clans of Scotland, in the school of perpetual war for the responsibilities and duties which were ultimately to devolve upon them.

In the French and Indian wars New England and New York could only be reached by long, tedious marches, but the scattered settlements in the wilderness of Vermont were the easy prey of the merciless savages and their French allies. Every boy grew to manhood trained to woodcraft and to arms. He learned the methods of Indian warfare, he became familiar with the tactics of the regular soldiery at Louisburg and Quebec, he was taught to build forts and construct defenses

and he knew how to make boats and navigate them upon Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River. This people, thus inured to every hardship and familiar with every form of danger, learned diplomacy and statecraft by resisting the claims of New York to their lands, and appealing first to the British Government and then to the Continental Congress for a recognition of their rights. The early chronicler says that when a sheriff and posse from New York came to dispossess the inhabitants of a frontier settlement and met face to face three hundred of these determined men fully armed they returned to New York because they were not personally interested in the dispute. This description always characterizes the authorities of my state in dealing with these dangerous malcontents of Vermont. The same chronicler narrates that the sheriff subsequently discovered in one of these houses in a corner two of the guns which had frightened him and his posse from the field. One was loaded with powder and bullets and the other with powder and kidney beans. But when, following the defeat of the Sheriff's posse, the royal governor of the colony of New York threatened to levy war upon the Vermont settlers and to drive them into the Green Mountains, then was formed that most patriotic, daring and noble band of the revolutionary period, the Green Mountain Boys. They, with their leader, Ethan Allen, occupy a singular and favored place in the story of the origin of the American Republic.

On the 16th of May, 1774, a committee of correspondents was formed in the city of New York to communicate with the different colonies respecting the increasing aggressions of the British Government upon popular rights. While little attention was paid to this communication for a year in most parts of the country, it was taken up immediately by these fighting sons of the Green Mountains. They resolved at once to make common cause with the other colonies and to maintain their rights, as they had always maintained them, with their lives. To prevent a persecution by royal authority for this patriotic resolve they seized the court house at

Westminster and held it against the judge and royal officers. They were farmers, intent upon such vigorous measures as would protect them in their liberties until an appeal could be made which should receive a favorable hearing from the mother country, or end in a union of the colonies for self-defense. They were armed only with sticks and cudgels. While they were asleep, in the dead of the night, the enemy came upon them, fired into them without notice or parley and two sons of Vermont were killed. The first blood of the revolution was not shed at Lexington, but at Westminster; the first patriot farmer to die was not the son of Massachusetts, but the son of the New Hampshire grants, which became subsequently the State of Vermont.

It is only on occasions like this that we can embalm in speech and place upon the records of a patriotic organization the forgotten names of William French and Daniel Houghton, the first martyrs to American liberty. The blood of these Green Mountain boys watered all hills and valleys which now constitute this commonwealth. From village and hamlet, from the settlement in the heart of the wilderness and isolated farmhouses in the clearings, came the sturdy mountaineers, armed with the musket and rifle which they knew so well how to use, and rallied to the standard of brave Ethan Allen. He was a noble type of these warrior husbandmen. In the temple of American heroes and patriots are the unequaled Washington, the cultured and accomplished Hamilton, Adams, Jay, Jefferson and Madison, but while we admire those great geniuses and wonderful state builders, there is about the gigantic form and rough speech of Ethan Allen the elements of chivalry and romance. His story is the inspiration of the youth, and stirs the blood of age. He lives in our imagination like William Tell or Arnold Winkelried. He set the example of daring and lofty courage. He scaled the walls and burst like a cyclone upon the garrison of Ticonderoga. His shout to the commander of that fortress who asked for his authority, that he demanded the unconditional surrender "in the name of the Great

Jehovah and the Continental Congress," was a sentiment which carried many a bloody field in the seven years' war, because the Continental soldier believed that his cause had the sanction and approval of the God of Battles.

The capture of Ticonderoga over a year before the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress had an inspiring effect upon the colonies far beyond anything which has usually been credited to this most important event. It secured a great store of arms and munitions of war, but it did more. It demonstrated the quality of the farmer-soldiers not only for resistance in defense of his home, but for invasion and assault where the veteran might well have quailed. The Green Mountain boys, once aroused, swept over Lake Champlain into Canada. A handful of them came near capturing Quebec. If they had been properly supported they would have seized the province. The crisis of the revolutionary war approached. The most perfectly equipped and largest army of veteran soldiers that had ever assembled on the North American Continent was marching under Burgoyne to join the forces of Sir Henry Clinton on the Hudson. Had this union been effected, the cause of the colonies would have been lost. Washington could furnish no help, but these brave mountaineers knew how to help themselves. They hung upon the flank of this army; they ambuscaded its foraging parties; they cut off its source of supply; they harassed it upon side and rear and retarded its advance until Schuyler and Gates and Arnold could prepare at Saratoga for the decisive conflict. They met at Bennington the flower of Burgoyne's army and won a victory which had the most important bearing upon Burgoyne's subsequent movements and the success of the American forces. The churches were the recruiting stations of the Continental army. The Puritan pulpit preached resistance to tyranny, and the Puritan minister followed his flock to the field.

It was Parson Allen, of Pittsfield, who came up with a company of Massachusetts militia and took old Gen. Stark to task because the fighting did not begin at once.

But Stark said to him: "As soon as the Lord sends us sunshine, if I don't give you fighting enough I'll never ask you to come out again." While the hail of bullets was pouring from the farmers upon the Hessian mercenaries and their Indian allies, and they were replying in kind, Parson Allen mounted a stump, Bible in hand, and exhorted the Germans and the savages in his choicest English to surrender and lay down their arms. A volley was the response to his appeal. Then this fighting parson, laying down his Bible and taking up his musket, proved himself the best shot in the regiment and the foremost in the assault, fighting, as he believed, against the enemies of the Lord.

It was the battle of Bennington which furnished another of those phrases which make up the vocabulary of patriotism. They live when all else is forgotten; they recall for the instruction of posterity the acts of the fathers when the mass of history has obscured them. In every schoolhouse in the land for more than a hundred years the American youth have felt a new impulse for freedom as they have read the cry of old Gen. Stark as he led these farmer-soldiers to the assault: "These redcoats are ours to-day or Molly Stark is a widow."

The early citizens of Vermont were forced to fight for their lands and their homes against the whole official power of the colony of New York, for their lives against marauding bands of savages, and for their liberties against the tyrannical operations of the British government. The young colony was a university of liberty. Its students were every man, woman and child within its borders. Because of the position of New York and New Hampshire at first, and of the slave-holding states for the fear of another free state in the Union afterward, Vermont stood for sixteen years absolutely alone among the English settlements. She would not join Canada and continue a British colony, and she was not permitted to enter the American Union, but in these trying times the people justified the title given them by old Gen. Stark, who called them "the turbulent sons of freedom." They organized the republic of

the Green Mountains, and in constitution and laws demonstrated that hard experience had advanced them further in the lesson of liberty than any of the thirteen colonies. They first saw the sin of African slavery and recognized that it was both a moral and a political crime. They first put into their constitution a perpetual prohibition against it, and this at a time when there was no sentiment in the wide world on the subject which had any standing or power. They established universal suffrage years before other states had recognized that property is not a qualification for suffrage, but manhood.

Though Vermont had captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, though she had fought battles upon the lakes, though she had contributed a regiment to the Continental army, yet her isolation compelled her to bear the whole of her share of the expenses of the revolutionary war. The United States found itself unable to meet the Continental currency which it had emitted in such enormous quantities in the crisis of its fate. This currency was repudiated, and the loss fell wholly upon its holders, but the young republic of the Green Mountains boldly faced its obligations and met them in that true spirit of public honesty which always promotes the profit, thrift and prosperity of the people. Every obligation of Vermont as it matured was met and paid in full. When, in 1791, the United States, recognizing these long years of injustice, invited the republic of the Green Mountains to join the Union, Vermont with liberty and democracy embodied in her constitution, enacted in her laws and instinct in her life, added another star to the American flag.

Now, more than at any other period during the present generation, it is important to teach the principles upon which our government was founded, and the policies which have made it great. These patriotic societies have before them a most important work. Their first duty is to educate the people. Both those who have landed upon our shores from foreign countries, and those of later generations who have forgotten the Revolution, must be taught the dangers of mov-

ing the republic from the safe moorings of the past. It is a poor rule in public affairs which despises the old and follows the new, because the one is old and the other new. The first charter of liberty was that framed in the cabin of the Mayflower, with its immortal declaration for just and equal laws. Over a century of effort to reach this ideal, not only in civil but in religious liberty also, produced the Declaration of Independence with its immortal statements that "all men are created equal, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that noble preamble to our constitution which divorced so permanently from our institutions class and privilege and royal authority, "we, the people, do ordain." Now, when theorists and demagogues are denying that these fundamental principles still exist in our government, and are seeking to establish an alien organization of paternalism as against that individualism which rests upon the New England town meeting, we must halt and calmly survey the conditions of our origin and growth.

The hundred and seven years since Washington was inaugurated may be divided into three periods. We are now entering upon the fourth. It is remarkable that each of these periods began with a threat against the republic as created by the fathers. The nation has come safely out of each of these trials, has emphatically asserted its faith in American liberty as understood by its founders and stands to-day the only government in the world which has been substantially unchanged in one hundred years.

The first period was one of construction and hero worship. Washington, in his farewell address, left a legacy for the guidance and instruction of his country. Its first duty was to create a revenue by which the income of the government should always be equal to its expenses. Its next duty was to establish a system of weights and measures and a standard of value in harmony with the commercial nations of the world. While recently the standard has been the subject of violent partisan controversy, the leaders of the great

parties, radical and conservative, into which the young republic divided, Washington and Madison, Hamilton and Jefferson, met together to adjust the question, which was one of inquiry, of knowledge and of scientific calculation, and not of politics nor of partisanship. It was the period for the adjustment of our relations with foreign countries, and they were arranged upon the broad truth that the United States would be sensitive energetic and defiant upon every attempt, not only on itself, but on other parts of the western hemisphere, which would in any way peril the rights of the United States. Our fathers believed they should avoid European entanglements. At the same time, in the Jay treaty with Great Britain, were laid down the principles upon which, with skill, dignity and patriotism, Secretary Olney has ended the Venezuelan dispute. It was the period of heroism and intense patriotism. The Fourth of July was a real celebration. The eloquent description of what it should be, which Daniel Webster put into the mouth of John Adams, was realized in every hamlet and at every cross-road in the land. It was ushered in with the booming of cannon, the day passed with processions and orations and it was rung out with the clanging of the church bells, and with fireworks and illuminations. As they successively passed off the stage, Washington Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, the Adamses, Jay and others assumed heroic proportions. They lived in the people's eyes, not as demigods, to arouse slavish homage and superstitious fear, but as patriots so pure in their devotion to liberty and independence that they were examples not only for their countrymen but also for struggling peoples all over the world and in all times.

The second period began with the nullification of the Federal revenue laws by South Carolina. It was a rude awakening to the possibility of the dissolution of the Union. It was a shock to the sentiment of American nationality. The hero worship of the time gave tremendous authority to living leaders who possessed the people's love. No man in the crude conditions which then existed more conspicuously met this requirement



than Andrew Jackson. The whole nation heard his threat, "by the Eternal, the Federal Union must and shall be preserved," and was instantly with him. If in the troubadour period of our race the philosopher might truly say, "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who makes their laws," in our history it has not been the lyric, but the phrase which has proved a potential power. This utterance of Andrew Jackson became part of every political and patriotic oration. It was supplemented later as the question became an academic one in Congress, by Webster's sonorous declaration, "Union and liberty, one and inseparable, now and forever." This was printed in the school books and declaimed from the platform of every academy and school in the country. It was imbedded in the brain and blood of every American. It broke the crust of materialism and lighted the fires of patriotism when the first gun was fired upon Fort Sumter.

As the second period was closing the Fourth of July had become a farce in the cities, often frowned upon as vulgar, and in the country the orator was laughed down as a spouter. The generation which came upon the stage between 1850 and 1860 knew little or nothing of the revolutionary war, its principles or its actors. Slavery, more as an investment and a business than as a sentiment, held the republic by the throat and constantly threatened its dissolution for further protection or further aggressions. One-half of the country was enriched by the produce which the slaves brought from the soil, and the other half was enriched by supplying from a manufacturing region the wants of a purely agricultural community. The purse is the mother of cowards. Northern sentiment at that time is happily illustrated by a story which one of your distinguished United States Senators—Senator Collamore—used to love to tell. He said, being at home during the recess of Congress, an old farmer on his way to market hailed him and said to him: "Judge, slavery is a sin, and so long as it exists we are all sinners. We must get rid of this curse somehow. We don't want to dissolve the Union to get rid of it; why not buy these

slaves and free them?" "Well," said the Judge, "that is a very good idea. Now, let us see how it will work. It will cost us three thousand millions of dollars. This will be distributed among the states, to be raised by taxation. The tax on Vermont will be so many hundred thousands, the tax on Essex County will be so many thousands. I think, neighbor, I'll try and put that through." In the afternoon the old farmer came along late, and, stopping at the Senator's office, said: "Judge, I reckon that just at present, as things are a little hard with us, I would not bother about those niggers." As between truth and falsehood, as between liberty and slavery, compromises inevitably come to an end, and between them it is a battle to the death. Thus this period which had forgotten the revolution, which had become sordid and surrendered everything to profit, in its rude awakening, sacrificed millions of lives and billions of treasure to maintain the Union upon the foundations where the revolutionary fathers had placed it.

We then entered upon a third period. It was the period of reconstruction, of invention and of extraordinary accumulation of national and individual wealth. By leaps and bounds the nation advanced along the path of progress. Inventive genius stimulated prosperity, and prosperity stimulated inventive genius. Enormous fortunes were amassed by far-sighted and daring men seeing the opportunities in new conditions and the development of new territories. As the forces of the water and the air, as the untamed powers of nature were brought into the service of man, they added incalculably to production and gave unlimited opportunity to inventors and organizers. One improvement succeeded another so rapidly that whole populations had to learn new trades, and invested capital became worthless in a day.

It is estimated that within this period forty per cent. of the world's labor was thrown out of employment to seek other occupation, and sixty per cent. of the world's capital was rendered valueless. This was made up, however, a thousand fold by the tremendous energy

of new motors and new machinery. Notwithstanding the fact that in the fierce struggle for wealth, thousands became bankrupt or insane, notwithstanding the fact that the few who became master spirits in commerce, as leaders became master spirits in war and in statesmanship, accumulated vast fortunes, in the general uplifting the people, the whole people, were better educated, better housed, better clothed, better fed, had fewer hours for labor and had larger wages than ever before in the history of the world. The opportunities for independence were equally open to all, under equal laws, and with every man equal before the law. But with our scarcely knowing and certainly not recognizing its extent and the possibility of concentrating it as a political force, discontent had seized upon the people as never before. It assumed again the form of an assault upon the time-honored and revolutionary principles of American liberty.

As we enter upon the fourth period, we should remember that a shifting standard of value is not American. A paternal government is not American. Any effort to array the people into classes, when employers and employes are constantly changing places, is not American. An assault upon the independence of the judiciary is not American. American liberty is the liberty of law and order; American government is government by the people under universal suffrage. They make their own laws, and the genius of our institutions is that those laws thus made by the people themselves will be obeyed by the power which makes them.

The Green Mountain boys did not ask for the town or the county or the state to support them or to give them occupation. Their struggle began to maintain title to the lands in the wilderness from which they had cut the forests; their struggle continued to protect their savings for themselves and their dependent ones; their struggle culminated in a government of law where every man should have an equal chance and take his place as God had given him mind and muscle. But he should take his place only under laws which protected all alike,

which prevented the strong from oppressing the weak, which gave to every one his just rights and which, through the state and at the expense of the state, offered the opportunity to all for an equal education in the duties of citizenship and for the battle of life. If there are unequal laws they are contrary to the fundamental principles of American citizenship and should be expunged from the statute books. If there are laws which permit discriminations against the individual or grant the opportunities for any power or combination to destroy American opportunity, such laws should be repealed.

In the interpretation of laws the protection of the people is an independent, a pure and an unimpeachable judiciary. The only element which is original and purely American in our institutions is the Supreme Court of the United States. There have been two houses of Congress or Parliament ever since men have tried to govern themselves; there has been an executive ever since government was organized, but to prevent revolution, rash measures, the injustice that comes from the turbulent passion of the hour being crystallized into statutes, the fathers of the Republic created that great tribunal which should say to Presidents and to Congresses: "The laws which you have passed are within the charter granted to you by the people, under which you exist, and are constitutional," or, "they are without that charter and contrary to its principles and therefore null and void." To this great court we owe it that the states of the commonwealth cannot declare war against each other; to the interpretations of this great court we are indebted for a system of intercommunication which has made our internal commerce vaster than the trade of all the rest of the world; it is by the interpretations of this great court that the government has been invested with the power to enforce the Federal laws, to preserve the national union and to protect the citizens of the United States as citizens of the United States against any local injustice or violation which threatens their rights.

Gentlemen, let us study Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Bennington; let us study the lives and teachings of

the accomplished patriots, Washington, Hamilton, the Adamsses, Jay, Jefferson and Madison on the one side, and those rough and ready sons of freedom, Ethan Allen and Gen. Stark and Seth Warner on the other. Let us learn and teach the principles upon which our government has grown to its great and beneficent proportions; let us enforce the lesson that American liberty is the preservation of American opportunity for every man to rise above the condition in which he was born, and to receive the full fruit in honors from his fellow-citizens and in protection from his country of the results which have come to him by his talents, his industry, his wisdom, his prudence, his thrift and his good citizenship.



## At the Celebration of the Centennial of the Establishment of the State Capital at Albany, January 6, 1897.

One summer morning at Athens I stood upon the Acropolis. Before me were the temples of her religion, the seats of her famed Court of Justice, and the field where her popular Assembly deliberated and enacted laws. Memory swiftly reviewed the inspiring past. Names which have survived the centuries and made immortal Grecian art, letters, eloquence and arms were materialized by the imagination. Then, again, I was in the Forum at Rome. Around me once more were the rehabilitated ruins and the reincarnated heroes, statesmen and orators of the Golden Age. From the rostrum on which Cicero, by his appeals to the populace, had delayed the destruction of the Republic, and Marc Antony, by his eulogium over the dead body of Caesar, had changed the course of empire and the history of the world, I saw before me the Senate house, from which issued the decrees that conquered kingdoms, devastated provinces, slaughtered millions of human beings and concentrated in the Eternal City the government of the world. It at once became an acute speculation whether it is religion, with its creeds and dogmas, or literature, or art, or material development, or military achievement, or government, which most interests and absorbs the attention of mankind.

"The noblest study of mankind is man," and how he is governed or governs himself. Upon the institution adopted by the nations depend all the other elements which I have recited. It is the government of the people which determines the measure of their civilization, the expansion of their liberties, the genius of their art, the liberality of their letters and the toleration

of their religion. Power captures both reason and imagination, whether it is concentrated in an autocrat or distributed among oligarchies or aristocracies, or finds its seat among the people. It is the life of national existence. The story of its development, its use and its abuse, is the history of the past. We contemplate it to-day, not in its tragedies enacted by conquerors and armies, not in sacked cities and devastated provinces, not in subdued and humiliated nations, but in the wise, peaceful and beneficent development of government for the people and by the people.

We can not look back over an eventful past like that suggested by the dead republics of ancient times or the living governments of the older countries of Europe. The span of one hundred years is but a day of history. That day, like one of the decisive battles which has changed the course of empire, may be more fruitful and suggestive than a thousand years of Cathay.

Each of the thirteen colonies has pride and applause, because of the contributions it has made to the formation of the Republic of the United States. We can not dispute nor detract from the just merits of any of our sister states, but this is our hour, our privilege, our time to place New York in her entitled imperial position at the beginning, which she still holds at the close of the century. New York is the only one of the colonies which could have successfully sustained a separate and independent existence. Nature has made her the seat of empire. The possibilities of power are both in the topography of a country and the characteristics of its inhabitants. The Hudson river, running in its majestic course as a highway for commerce from the Atlantic to the Mohawk, presented the easy and natural route for settlement and trade. From the headwaters of the Mohawk the streams run northward to Lake Ontario, and the valley extends west to Lake Erie. With short and easy portages the Indian, with his birch-bark canoe, could have gone from New York to the Pacific coast. The canoe is succeeded by the laboring oar, the oar by the canal boat and the horse, the canal boat by the steam engine, and then, in the



development of transportation, the iron rail finds its easy grades beside the water courses and follows their banks. Thus our State, from the beginning, has held the key to the settlement of the continent and the gates for the inflow of population and importation and for the carriage to market and export of the product of the great majority of the acres of our vast national territory.

One of the picturesque episodes, lost almost in the byways of history, is found in the brief annals we possess of the federation of the Iroquois. By their location in the valley of the Mohawk, they demonstrated in their rude and savage way that the course of empire lies along the natural highways of commerce and trade. Though having only five thousand warriors, they exacted tribute from subject tribes over New England as far north as Maine, to the west as far as the Mississippi, and south to the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. Their enemies were divided by mountain ranges and other natural barriers, which prevented union for common defence, while these rude soldiers of the forest could concentrate down the valleys and streams for the swift punishment of revolt or collection of tribute. These sagacious savages knew nothing of the secret of Roman conquest, but they adopted its tactics in war and its policy in peace. They incorporated the subject tribes and used them to extend the area of their influence. The early chronicler says that the appearance of a single Mohawk among the Indians of Massachusetts would put a tribe to flight. The decision, followed by instant execution, which is the secret of successful force, was illustrated when a Long Island tribe ceded a portion of its lands to the whites without the consent of the Six Nations. The tribal congress at Onondaga determined to stop at once any such encouragement to white encroachments upon Indian territory. A single Mahawk warrior carried the message. He appeared at the village of the Long Island tribe, called together its chiefs, and demanded by whose authority this deed was given. The head of the tribe arose and said it had been done by him. The messenger of power and vengeance at once buried his tomahawk in the brain of

the chief, attached his scalp to his girdle, and walked out of the terrified and submissive assembly.

New York, thus fortunate in her geographical position, was doubly fortunate in the character of the immigration which she attracted. She became the cosmopolitan state of the Union. The Dutch came and took possession of the territory and administered its government. They gave to its constitution and laws the spirit of civil and religious liberty which existed in that age only in Holland. They invited all nationalities and all creeds to equal rights with themselves. Persecuted religionists of every church soon discovered that they could find a hospitable home among the Dutch of New York. The Waldenses settled upon Staten Island, the Walloons and the English upon Long Island, the Catholic Scotch Highlanders, who had followed the fortunes of Prince Charlie, established their colony in Montgomery county, while the Protestant Irish took up farms in Otsego and the Catholic French along the borders of Canada, the Welsh formed settlements in Oneida and the Huguenots established prosperous communities in Westchester and along the Hudson, and the Germans from the Palatinate gave character and stability to the farms and villages on the Mohawk. Hamilton, the constructive genius of the Republic, was Scotch, as was also Livingston. Schuyler, the modest but able general who had planned the battle of Saratoga, was Dutch; Herkimer, whose brave fight at Oriskany was one of the most eventful battles of the Revolution, was German. The accomplished and cultured jurist and patriot, Jay, was a French Huguenot. The sturdy and tough old Governor Clinton, who ruled our State for twenty-one years, was Irish; while Morris was Welsh, and Hoffman of Swedish descent.

With patriotic ardor and brilliant effort in eloquence, in story and in song, the descendants of the Puritans have celebrated the virtues of their forefathers and made us familiar with the minutest details of the lives and deeds of these early State builders. Bunker Hill and Concord and Lexington are the inspiration of the schoolbooks, while Saratoga, the decisive battle of the Revolutionary

War, and Oriskany, only second in importance, and White Plains, Stony Point, West Point and Crown Point, are little known, except to the students of the Revolution. The genius of the father of American literature painted a word-picture of the ridiculous side of the founders of New Amsterdam, which has detracted in the mind and imagination of subsequent generations, from the merits of these builders of our State and its institutions, and placed them at incalculable disadvantage beside the idealized Pilgrim. One might as well judge Wellington and Waterloo, Marlborough and Blenheim, Nelson and the "Victory," and Chatham and Burke, by the satirical cartoons of "Punch," as to form an opinion of the Dutch of New York by "Knickerbocker's History."

The people of Holland had carried on an unexampled struggle for eighty years for independence against the great power of Spain. They had demonstrated, in an age of tyranny and bigotry, the liberalizing force and resistless power of commerce and industry. The merchants, the manufacturers and the artisans of their cities had accumulated wealth, broken the power of their feudal lords and cultivated art, literature and liberty; they had celebrated their victories, not by monuments, but by universities; they had kept alive the spark of liberty and of learning when it was dead everywhere else; they had formed a federal union in 1579, which was the model for the confederation of the American colonies, and in 1580 they had formulated a declaration of independence, which was one of the inspirations of the pen of Jefferson. They received with cordiality, and entertained with hospitality, Protestants and Catholics, and the persecuted Jews. They had taught the Puritan the lessons of civil and religious liberty, and the benefits of the common schools. It is the most interesting illustration of the value of the lesson of the eleven years which the Puritans passed in Holland that the Pilgrims, who sailed from Delfthaven to Plymouth and framed in the cabin of the "Mayflower" that immortal charter which is the foundation-stone of our Republic, preached and practised both civil and religious liberty. It was the Puritans who came afterward direct from

England who, against the protests of the Plymouth colony, persecuted Quakers and Baptists and hung witches. Said the Holland Directors to the Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam, in directing him to grant home and hospitality to the persecuted religionists and those accused of witchcraft who had fled from New England, "Let every one remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government." This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of our magistrates in Amsterdam, and the consequence has been that people have flocked from every land to this asylum. "Tread, then, in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." The Dutch maxims of government were, "Unity makes right," and "Taxation is only lawful by consent of the people." These principles of our Dutch founders bore abundant fruit in the influence of New York upon the political and constitutional history of the Republic, in the influence of New York upon the building and expanding of the common school and the universal adoption of the principle of religious toleration.

The commingling of races in our commonwealth is one of the sources of its imperial position. It has abolished narrowness and provincialism and created broadness and liberality of character. It has done more than anything else to develop the American type of manhood. The true American is cosmopolitan. He breathes the air of a continent ruled by the flag of his country; he lives under institutions which give the largest liberty and the greatest opportunity for individual effort. He is in touch with the most marvelous material development of any age or any country, and is carried upon the car of progress at a speed which fires the brain, makes sentient the nerves and gives new impulse to the blood. He cannot help being patriotic and proud, but the sources of his patriotism are so sure and the reasons for his pride so sound that he can be liberal, just and charitable to all nations, races and tongues. His sympathy is quick and outspoken for people under other forms of government who are seeking equality before the law and struggling for civil or religious liberty. He will

give moral support, and assist to the limit of personal safety, those who are in rebellion against tyranny and oppression. Antiquity has for him precious lessons, and he studies with deep appreciation, pleasure and admiration the art and literature, the architecture and monuments, the heroes and historic fields of the Old World. But the superiority of other lands in some feature of civilization only intensifies his love for his own country. As his vision broadens he sees more clearly that we are "The heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time," in the larger share of freedom and happiness enjoyed by the people of the United States.

Our State was pre-eminently the battleground of the Revolution. Here in Albany was assembled in 1754, twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence, a convention presided over by Benjamin Franklin, to promote the union of the colonies for mutual improvement and self-defence. In 1764 the Colonial Assembly of New York addressed the other colonies, urging common action against the encroachments of the mother country. It was the beginning of official agitation for an American union and the promotion of purely American interests, and it preceded by a year Patrick Henry's famous resolution and immortal speech in the Virginia House of Delegates. John Morin Scott, in May, 1765, voiced the sentiment of the New York Assembly and the popular feeling of the colony with his bold assertion, which was the first intimation of the separation of the colonies from the mother country and their independence as a nation. He said: "The English government cannot long act towards a part of its dominions upon principles which are diametrically opposed to its own without losing itself in the slavery it would impose upon the colonies or teaching them to throw it off and assert their freedom." In that speech is the prophecy of nationality and the germ of the Declaration of Independence. Both Washington, on the one side, and the British generals on the other, saw that New York was the key to the revolutionary situation. The great campaign of the British Cabinet, planned with so much skill and strategical genius, would, if it had been successful,

have discouraged France and crushed colonial independence. Through the valleys of New York, at once the highways of peaceful and military conquest, the English general was to march his armies and seize and hold these arteries and divide and conquer the patriots. Sir Henry Clinton was to come up the Hudson, and Burgoyne, with his English and German veterans, was to move down through Lake Champlain, while St. Ledger came along the Valley of the Mohawk. But the battle of Saratoga and the sanguinary struggle at Oriskany broke the power of Great Britain upon this continent, won the alliance with France, secured the independence of the colonies, and created the Republic of the United States.

The seat of government in our State during the period of Dutch and English control was in New Amsterdam, now New York city. The executive and legislative power was vested in a director-general appointed from Holland and a council elected by the people. After the English conquest this was changed to a royal governor appointed by the King of Great Britain, and an elective assembly. When the revolt against the tyrannical exactions of the mother country assumed organized form, the Committee of Safety, Provisional War Committees and Committees of Resistance called a Provisional Congress, to be elected by the various counties. This Congress, in May, 1776, provided for the election of delegates to a convention "to accept and establish such a government as they shall deem best calculated to secure the life, liberty and happiness on the good people of this colony." Our first Constitution was framed and adopted by this body at Kingston, on April 20, 1777, and the legislative life of the State of New York began. The Constitution created a Senate and Assembly, and enacted that the Legislature must meet once a year, but failed to name any place. At its first session the Legislature, in 1778, passed an act to regulate elections within the State, and providing that the Senate and Assembly should meet on the first Monday in July in each year at such place or places as the Governor, by proclamation, should appoint, reserving to the Legislature the right to adjourn to any place it chose. These provisions

were necessary, because our State was a continuous battleground during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and the Legislature, of necessity, deliberated in light marching order, and was in constant peril of capture by the enemy. It met at Kingston and Poughkeepsie in 1777; at Poughkeepsie in 1778; at Albany, Kingston and Poughkeepsie in 1779; at the same places in 1780; at Albany and Poughkeepsie in 1781; at Poughkeepsie in 1782; at Kingston also in 1782, and in 1783, 1784, 1785 and 1786; at New York in 1787; at Poughkeepsie in 1788; at Albany in 1789. It met alternately afterwards at New York and Albany, and in 1797, just one hundred years ago, found its permanent home in this city. Its sessions in this city had no other authority, until 1818, than the annual motion "That when the Legislature adjourns it shall be to meet at Albany." In 1818 an act was passed changing the date for the assembling of the Legislature to the first Tuesday in January, and providing that its future meetings should be held in "the Capitol in the city of Albany." The first building stood where Agricultural Hall now is, and was used jointly by the city and State. The next structure, the old "Capitol," so freighted with glorious memories, was completed and occupied in 1809. It was built by the State and the City, the latter being authorized to raise its money by a lottery. The whole scheme was imbedded in laws under the liberal titles permitted by our earlier Constitutions of "Acts to improve the navigation of the Hudson river between the villages of Troy and Waterford, and for the encouragement of literature." The building was finished in three years, at a cost of \$110,685.42. Professor Silliman, of Yale College, spoke of this building in 1813 as "a large, handsome building exhibiting a good degree of splendor." Horatio Gates Spofford said, in 1823, that "in the furniture of the Senate and Assembly Chambers there is a liberal display of public munificence, and the American eagle assumes an imperial splendor." Such were the impressions made on these cultured and keen observers seventy-three years ago by that plain and poorly equipped old house. It marks the growth of taste and luxury that no more could be said of the palatial magnificence and

gorgeous appointments of the present Capitol. Its cornerstone was laid in 1871, with imposing ceremonies, and the Legislature moved in on January 7, 1879. This largest and grandest of state capitols, and one of the greatest structures of its kind in the world, has cost, up to 1896, \$21,607,116.58, and it will require several more millions for its completion.

Commerce stimulates invention and compels the enlargement of the facilities for and the cheapening of transportation. The carrier is both the creator and the distributor of national and individual wealth. Mountain ranges have shut off the limitless, fertile and attractive territories of the West from the Atlantic seaboard, except where nature has made a natural highway through the lakes to Buffalo and down the valleys to the Hudson, and through the lakes again down to Oswego and down the streams to the Hudson. The brilliant Gouverneur Morris had seen the ease with which Lakes Erie and Ontario could be connected with the Atlantic, through the natural channels. Other statesmen of New York had impressed the work upon the State Legislature and upon Congress, but it was reserved for the practical ability, the popularity and the indomitable energy of Governor DeWitt Clinton to carry through the projects of the Erie, the Oswego and the Champlain canals. The wedding of the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Bay of New York created that system of northwestern commonwealths in which now reside the political power and the future growth of our Republic. Navigation carried population along the lakes, the canals and the rivers, and prosperous settlements existed wherever the product of the soil could be carried cheaply to market. The discovery that every mile of railroad constructed in new territory opens to cultivation and for homes one hundred thousand acres of virgin soil, caused to be built that system of railways which now numbers in miles quite one-half of the total mileage of all the railways in the world, and the vast internal commerce which it carries far surpasses the combined traffic of the railways of other countries and of the merchant vessels on the ocean. It was the prospect of a peaceful settle-



ment and development of the vast interior of our country which caused Livingston and Fulton to build the first steamboat upon the Hudson river, which encouraged capital and enterprise to construct the first practical railway between Albany and Schenectady, which stimulated Henry and Morse to subdue the lightning to the service of man in the electric telegraph, which fired the brain of Bell for the speaking telephone and incited the myriad-minded Edison to the utilization of electric power for light, for machinery and for motors.

Inventions are both revolutions and revelations. For the thousands who are ruined by the revolution produced by invention, millions find new opportunities, employment and wealth in the revelation and utilization of hidden forces and powers. It is because ours is the first of commercial states that so many of these beneficent discoveries which have enabled one man to do the work of a thousand and yet perform the paradox of creating more remunerative occupations for the other nine hundred and ninety-nine, have found their suggestion and practical operation within the State of New York.

The complex and intricate relations of a great commercial and manufacturing center have raised the most important legal questions; they have attracted and educated for our State the most brilliant bar; they have taught us to frame and perfect constitutions which have served as models for other commonwealths, and have enacted a body of broad and liberal statutes. Our Constitution has been adopted by a majority of the new States, and our codifications by a majority of all States. The leaders of our bar have also been the leaders of the national bar. In our time no one disputed the supremacy of Evarts and O'Connor, and they filled the places which had been held by equally famed and distinguished predecessors. The commentaries of Chancellor Kent educated generations of lawyers and jurists before law schools were known, and are the textbooks to-day which lay the foundation for our system of legal teaching.

At a time when the maxim, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," made impossible the freedom of the

press, Hamilton's superb defence of journalistic liberty in the reversal of the maxim and the establishment of the principle that the truth justifies publication, became the decision of the courts of New York. It was incorporated into the statutes; it has found, after many years of struggle, a place in the legislation of all the States in our Union and of Great Britain. It has built up that tremendous power of an independent press which is to-day the ruling force in our Republic.

It is common to lament the good old times and the better days of the Republic. It is the result of my study, experience and observation, that the best day is to-day, and to-morrow will be a better. Until 1848 a woman's estate became her husband's after marriage. She could not enter business except with his assent and assistance. Again the liberal genius of commerce demonstrated that it was the handmaid of civilization, by emancipating woman and giving her her just rights in the management of her property, and her equal privileges in the opportunities of the times for livelihood, independence and fortune. We all rejoice to-day in this enlightened movement and that the example of one State has been followed by all the other commonwealths, and in some countries abroad. Sixty years ago the Legislature was constantly passing laws authorizing lotteries to endow colleges, academies and other seats of learning, for public works, for religious and charitable purposes, and even for the construction of the building which was to be the home of the law-making power of the commonwealth. Now this most insidious form of gambling and demoralization is not only condemned by public opinion, but its practice is included in the prohibitions of the Penal Code. It took nearly half a century of education and of agitation to wipe from the statute books the inequalities placed by the fathers upon the right of suffrage. Until the Constitution of 1846 the chartering of corporations was regarded as the legitimate spoils of politicians and of parties. It brought no discredit upon the legislator to receive the free gift of stock in the company which he endowed by his vote with unusual and monopolistic powers. But to-day no legislator could thus,

nor in any other way, participate in the benefits of his vote without standing in the criminal dock and ending in the State prison. Our statesmen discovered that while the vast and complicated machinery of transportation, banking, insurance and many other kinds of business could only be carried on by capital contributed by many individuals, the way to remove temptation and corruption from the Legislature and control the corporations was to enact general laws under which the whole body of citizens had the same right and opportunities to organize for the purposes permitted by law, and when organized, should fall under the supervision and power of the State, through one of its departments and officers. Supervision and publicity are the great safeguards of the Republic against any abuses which may come from these modern devices of civilization, the corporation and the trust.

Our State took up early the subject of education, and treated it in a broad and liberal way, through the Regents of the University, an original body which has survived a century of beneficent work. They fostered and encouraged colleges, academies and higher education, while a Department of Public Instruction developed the common school to its present vast and unequaled proportion. The result has been that education is free to every boy and girl in our State, and the opportunities for liberal learning are practically within the reach of all.

It is an interesting illustration of the fact that New York was always the cosmopolitan State of the Union, that the theatre, which first feels the restrictive influences of provincialism, reopened in our chief city as soon as the civil authority assumed power, after the evacuation by the British. While pains and penalties prohibited playhouses in New England, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and other States, there was presented, in 1786, in New York, among other plays, a comedy written by Royal Taylor, who was afterwards Chief Justice of the State of Vermont, in which there appeared for the first time the typical stage Yankee.

Two questions of supreme importance, and testing the existence of the Republic, were the power of the national

government to protect and maintain the union of the states, and the treatment of the institution of slavery. New York was, practically, a century ago, as now, the port of entry of the country. Most of the revenues were collected within her jurisdiction. The majority of her statesmen, led by Governor Clinton, believed that in joining the Federal Union, and surrendering to the national government all of the imperial powers of peace and war, of taxation and revenue, she was contributing more than her share and abandoning a position destined to make her the leader, the arbiter and the master among confederated commonwealths. The vital question of national unity and state sovereignty was fought out here, and by our statesmen. In this city most of the papers of the Federalist, that Bible of union and liberty, were written by Alexander Hamilton, and in New York by John Jay, these two contributing three-fourths of the numbers. Hamilton and Clinton, in the convention which was called to ratify the Constitution of the United States, led the opposing forces. Hamilton was the most precocious and remarkable genius and the most creative statesman of his age. He had a comprehension of liberty, a talent for building institutions, a genius for government and a lucidity of statement which won the admiration of his countrymen by speech and pamphlet when he was but eighteen years old. Clinton was dogmatic, obstinate and courageous. He loved New York with a passionate devotion; he had been its governor during the struggle for independence and the best period of his life, and he saw only New York. Hamilton's vision embraced the whole United States, and with prophetic insight he discerned the power and greatness of the Republic of the future. When the contest began he and Jay stood almost alone in the Constitutional Convention. Never before were so clearly demonstrated the power of debate and the supreme force of that eloquence which commands listening senates. When the debate ended, Hamilton triumphed, and by an overwhelming majority New York surrendered her temporary advantages and became a member of the Federal Union, the Empire State in a confederation of commonwealths having an inde-

structible nationality. The arguments and ammunition furnished in the Federalist and in this debate served their purpose during the sixty-years battle between the opposing forces of federal power and independent state action, of union and secession, until the flag of the Republic conferred its equal blessings and commanded loyalty and love from both victors and vanquished upon the field of Appomattox.

Freedom and slavery existed peacefully together for a quarter of a century. Then for more than another quarter they contested for the possession of the new territory and the dominant power in the government of the country. Abolitionists and Free Soilers had conducted the agitation for freedom with little result. Abraham Lincoln had sounded the keynote of the conflict in 1856, but it was only a local utterance in a Western State. William H. Seward, Senator from New York, was the father of the new party of liberty. He was the most hated and the most feared of all the enemies of the slave power. He was the leader of the new movement, and its candidate for President. The apparently impassable barriers to the Free State men were the guarantees of slavery in the Constitution of the United States. In the fall of 1858, when the country was agitated by this question as never before, Senator Seward made a speech at Rochester. In it he said: "Our country exhibits in full operation two radically different political systems—the one resting on a basis of servile or slave labor, the other on a basis of voluntary labor of freemen. These antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact and collision results. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation." The "irrepressible conflict," flashed over the country and read by the people the next morning, brought every friend of freedom to his feet with a shout of approval, and every slaveholder and friend of slaveholding with a yell of defiance. Though Seward, because of local causes in his own State, failed to reach the presidency, nevertheless the "irrepressible conflict" which fell from

his lips on that eventful night in Rochester bore fruit five years later in Lincoln's immortal proclamation of emancipation.

There always exists in commercial communities a shifting element of independent voters who are bound lightly by party ties. This has caused New York, more than any other state, to change its allegiance so frequently between the two great national organizations. It has given intensity to our partisanship and a ferocity to our factions within the parties unknown in other commonwealths. The power of the State in the Electoral College and the vast amount of federal and state patronage to be distributed within its jurisdiction have created political conditions peculiar to ourselves. Five Presidents of the United States have said to me that they could easily solve every question which came before them, but that they had never been able to understand the politics of New York. They have run in both parties, since the formation of the state government, very much upon the lines represented by Alexander Hamilton on the one side and Aaron Burr on the other—theoretical and practical politics. Martin Van Buren consolidated the power of his party in the Albany Regency, with Edwin Croswell as its editor, and Thurlow Weed organized the forces on the other side, with William H. Seward as the spokesman. With matchless courage and ability the Albany Regency governed the State and sometimes controlled the country. It fell because it would not, and apparently could not, share its power with the rising ambitions of its party. Thurlow Weed, on the other hand, appealed to ingenuous, patriotic and ambitious young men to join him in the fight for the control of the State, and attracted and captured them as they successively came into prominence. For thirty years he was rather the presiding officer of a congress of politicians than the directing mind of a political organization. Seward's philosophic temperament, ripe culture, brilliant eloquence and comprehensive statesmanship gave inspiration to the young warriors who were following Thurlow Weed in the field of practical politics, and won the support of pulpits and colleges for his political or-

ganization. With increasing years Weed became suspicious of youth and attached to the associations of a lifetime, and the young revolvers against the State machine, led by Roscoe Conkling, broke his power.

Reuben E. Fenton, as Governor, by his political sagacity and the State patronage, gathered the fragments of the Weed organization and became master of the Republican party. General Grant transferred to Senator Conkling the appointments to office, and Fenton made the mistake of fighting for the maintenance of his power outside the party lines. Conkling, with an undisputed field and his great ability, created a machine which, for cohesive, concentrated and autocratic authority, never had an equal anywhere in our country. All the aspirations and ambitions of New York submitted for twelve years to an arbitrary rule, which, by nod or word or caprice, promoted or excommunicated, recognized, or drove into obscurity, rising statesmen and local leaders or lieutenants, as they were obedient or distrusted. When General Arthur, who had been one of Senator Conkling's chief aids, became President, he declared his independence and the sudden dissolution and collapse of this strongest and most aggressive combination of power within a party in our history is one of the lessons and romances of American politics. Conkling retired absolutely from public life, and fulfilled at the bar the brilliant promise of the earlier years of his professional career.

Any permanent concentration of power in one or a few hands within the Democratic party has been often prevented by the persistent efforts of the organization in the city of New York to dominate the rest of the State. Dean Richmond, by his talent for leadership and bluff good-fellowship, held warring factions together for many years. But he was frequently defeated and always weakened by the magnetic personality, the lofty eloquence and unequalled individual popularity of Horatio Seymour. I remember the appearance of this highbred, aristocratic-looking and faultlessly dressed man upon the platform at Albany, the wild worship he inspired in the fierce Democracy before him, and his stampeding of Richmond's care-

fully-selected convention, as one of the most thrilling of my recollections of the power of eloquence.

The sudden accession to commanding position in the State and Country of Samuel J. Tilden, late in his life, is an absorbing and interesting chapter of American history. At three score he discovered his opportunity in the Tweed frauds, and rallied to his standard a remarkable body of brilliant young men, most of whom have won great distinction since in both public and business life. He disrupted Tammany at the zenith of its strength, scattered all existing combinations, captured the Governorship and the State, and won so good a claim upon the Presidency as to create a crisis, which, equally with the Civil War, strained, tested and proved the strength, elasticity and perpetuity of our Republic.

The Legislature of our State has been the nursery of its statesmen. Most of the long list of men who became eminent in the councils of the nation rose to prominence in the Senate or Assembly. I cannot allude to the living, but in recalling those who have joined the majority, we can congratulate ourselves upon the position we have held in the national councils and the imperial influence of our State through its representatives. No other commonwealth can present so many names of equal power. The inspiring roll-call contains the names of Philip Schuyler, Rufus King, Aaron Burr, Gouverneur Morris, DeWitt Clinton, Martin Van Buren, William L. Marcy, Silas Wright, Daniel S. Dickinson, John A. Dix, William H. Seward and Roscoe Conkling. Of the twenty-three Presidents of the United States, New York has furnished four. She has also given ten Vice-Presidents. New York cannot rest with being empire in most things; she must also be original. Two of her United States Senators resigned their places in that august body upon the apparent assumption that any prominent position in this State was more honorable than the best place in the Federal government, DeWitt Clinton to become mayor of New York, and Theodorus Bailey, to accept the postmastership of our City.

It is our misfortune that, since the Civil War, the



attractions and the rewards of the professions and of business in a great commercial state, and the uncertainties of politics as a career, have kept from public life or tempted from it, as soon as they became prominent, the great majority of the able men who have successively come upon the stage and taken a leading part in the industrial and professional activities of our State.

To one familiar for more than a quarter of a century with the men who have climbed the Capitol hill and spoken within the Capitol walls, this day is crowded with affecting and glorious memories. There is no chord in the lyre of eloquence which has not been touched by a master hand in the discussions of our legislative bodies upon questions affecting the welfare of the State or the good of the Country.

I have sat in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States; I have heard famous debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords; but when the trumpet call to arms for the salvation of the Union came from President Lincoln, and New York's Legislature convened, that the State might meet the requirements of the hour, and in the subsequent years of the trying struggle, I have listened to efforts in the Senate and Assembly of the old Capitol which took equal rank with the debates of Congress and the speeches in Parliament.

"As goes New York so goes the Union" has been verified in twenty-three cases out of twenty-seven of our Presidential elections. From the little railroad of twenty-six miles, built in 1830, has grown a transportation system covering seven thousand miles, and carrying, with the canals, a greater tonnage per year than passes through any other state. From the first bank chartered, there have grown, within the recollection of men now living banks whose capital and deposits amount to three thousand seven hundred millions of dollars, two thousand five hundred and fifty millions of which represent the deposits in our savings banks, while the money in trust companies amounts to three hundred and ninety-five millions, and in life insurance companies to six hundred and ninety millions, insuring a million of people, whose

policies represent three billions of dollars. In the value of farm lands and farm products, we lead all the states except Illinois, and in manufactures we are first among the American commonwealths, there being sixty-six thousand manufacturing establishments in our State, employing eight hundred and fifty thousand people, and producing annually one thousand seven hundred millions of dollars' worth of goods, or nearly one-third the entire product of the United States.

From Union College, which began its life the year before the fixing of the capital at Albany, have been established, over our State, colleges and academies; and by the State, a common-school system which educates every year one million three hundred thousand pupils, at an annual cost of nearly eighteen millions of dollars. One hundred years ago New York city had four newspapers, with a circulation of a few thousand, the Advertiser, with Noah Webster as editor, the Packet, and Greenfield's Journal, and the Price Current; Albany had three, Orange and Ulster two, Columbia, Dutchess and Rensselaer each one, and there were only two west of Albany, the Herald at Otsego and the Gazette at Whites-town. In the span of a century, under the inspiration of the freedom of the press, secured first in our State, by judicial decision and legislation, our daily papers number one hundred and eighty-three, with a circulation of one million three hundred thousand, while our weekly papers number ten hundred and eighty, with a circulation of about one million copies. When this capital was founded, New York was the fifth state in the Union. Now she is the first in population, in wealth, in her institutions of learning, in her annual expenditures for education, in the number of children in her schools, in manufacture, commerce and trade, and second only in agriculture.

The Art Gallery and Memorial Hall of our State will have upon its walls the historical pictures which will illustrate and condense the beginning, the advance and the results of our national development and progress. The first canvass will exhibit Fulton's steamboat cleaving the waters of the Hudson with a speed and power which

woke to new life the drowsy repose of the ages from the Palisades to the Helderbergs. From this little craft came the canal and railway expansion and the internal commerce of our country. The second picture will be a battle scene. The red-coated veterans of England, the helmeted grenadiers of Hesse and the plumed and painted savages on the one side, and the Continental soldier and patriot farmer, with corn-shuck in his hat as his uniform, on the other, will represent the fury and the victory of Saratoga, the most important in results of any of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. Two companion pieces will be the British evacuating New York as the American army enters, and Washington bidding a final farewell to his generals at Fraunce's Tavern, in the same city—the one a recognition of an independent power in the affairs of the Old World, and destined to rule, protect or influence the countries of the New World; the other, that subordination of the military to the civil authority, which is the spirit of liberty and the life of a republic, and which had its second and grandest illustration when two millions of soldiers dropped their arms and returned to their several industries at the close of the Civil War. A conspicuous panel will display the imposing scene and brilliant surroundings at the inauguration of the first President of the United States at old Federal Hall, in Wall street, marking the commencement of a government on this continent which should demonstrate the growing power and limitless possibilities of freedom, which should extend its hospitality to all races and creeds, and whose teaching and example should liberalize the institutions and inspire the peoples of all the nations on the earth. The first cheap, plain and simple home occupied by our Legislature in this city one hundred years ago, to-day, will contrast the past with the present, beside that most palatial State building in our Country, the present State Capitol.

The Legislature which first met here dealt with the affairs of three hundred thousand people, but you, gentlemen, their successors, after the lapse of a hundred years, sit in the grand halls of this impressive structure and legislate for a commonwealth of seven millions of inhabitants. You

will do more. You will prepare the charter which is to govern the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere, and the second greatest city in the world. It is a question whose magnitude will attract, and whose problems will interest the public mind, not only in our land, but in every nation where the municipal situation is as yet unsolved. Never since the formation of our State government has a more interesting or important measure of constructive legislation occupied the attention and commanded the best patriotism and ability of the representatives of the people. It is the gigantic task of providing for the safety, the rights and the future development of a compact community greater in numbers than the population of the whole country a century ago; a municipality destined to have a constantly increasing influence upon the political, social, material and literary interest of the State and the Nation.

Taking courage, hope and inspiration from the superb results of our first century, we enter upon the second, confident that under Divine Providence, which has so signally blessed us in the past, the people of this State will prosper and increase in patriotism, in public spirit, in learning and art, in progress and wealth, in the preservation and expansion of the opportunities for all to rise to better conditions and to a broader life and in the fuller enjoyment of the continuing and ever-expanding blessings of civil and religious liberty.

## At the Republican National Convention, Philadelphia, June 17, 1900, seconding the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for Vice-President.

Gentlemen of the Convention—Permit me to state to you at the outset that I am not upon the program, but I will gladly perform the pleasant duty of announcing that New York came here, as did every other delegation, for Col. Roosevelt for Vice-President of the United States. When Col. Roosevelt expressed to us his wish that he should not be considered we respected it, and we proposed to place in nomination, by our unanimous vote, our Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Timothy Woodruff.

Now that the Colonel has responded to the call of the convention and the demand of the people, New York withdraws Mr. Woodruff and puts Mr. Roosevelt in nomination. I had the pleasure of nominating him two years ago for governor, when all the signs pointed to the loss of New York in the election, but he charged up and down the old state from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls as he went up San Juan hill, and the Democrats fled before him as the Spaniards did in Cuba.

It is a peculiarity of American life that our men are not born to anything, but they get there afterward. McKinley, a young soldier, and coming out a major; McKinley, a congressman, and making a tariff; McKinley, a President, elected because he represented the protection of American industries; and McKinley, after four years' development, in peace, in war, in prosperity and in adversity, the greatest President save one or two that this country ever had, and the greatest ruler in Christendom to-day.

So with Colonel Roosevelt—we call him Teddy. He was the child of New York, of New York city, the place that you gentlemen from the West think means "coupons, clubs, and eternal damnation for everyone."

Teddy, this child of Fifth avenue, was the child of the clubs; he was the child of the exclusiveness of Harvard

College; and he went West and became a cowboy, and then he went into the Navy Department and became an assistant secretary. He gave an order, and the old chiefs of bureaus came to him and said: "Why, Colonel, there is no authority and no requisition to burn this powder." "Well," said the Colonel, "we have got to get ready when war comes, and powder was manufactured to be burned." And the burning of that powder sunk Cervera's fleet in Santiago harbor and the fleet in Manila bay. At Santiago a modest voice was heard, exceedingly polite, addressing a military regiment, lying upon the ground, while the Spanish bullets were flying over them. This voice said:

"Get to one side, gentlemen, please; one side, gentlemen, please, that my men can get out." And when this polite man got his men out in the open where they could face the bayonet and face the bullet there was a transformation, and the transformation was that the dude had become a cowboy, the cowboy had become a soldier, the soldier had become a hero, and, rushing up the hill, pistol in hand, the polite man shouted to the militiamen lying down: "Give them h——, boys, give them h——!"

Allusion has been made by one of the speakers to the fact that the Democratic convention is to meet on the Fourth of July. On the Fourth of July all the great heroes of the Revolution, all the great heroes of the War of 1812, all the great heroes of Mexico, and the heroes of the war with Spain, who are not dead, will be in procession all over the country, but those mighty spirits will not be at the Democratic Convention in Kansas City.

There is one gentleman who is detained from there and from the welcome which they would delight to give him, but he is at present engaged in running a foot race, under the blazing sun of Luzon, from the soldiers of the United States. George Washington's spirit will not be there, but George Washington Aguinaldo, if he could, would be a welcome delegate. I would like to sit in the gallery and hear the platform read condemning expansion, with Jefferson coming out of the clouds and saying: "Who are you? Didn't my expansion become fifteen States as glorious and

as great as any in your convention, and what are you condemning me for?"

Anti-imperialism? Because we are putting down an insurrection in the Philippines? And from the grave at the Hermitage comes the spirit of old Andrew Jackson, saying: "Get out of here, or by the Eternal, I will let you know who I am." Anti-acquisition of territory? And then comes a procession of Democrats of the old Democratic party—Jefferson, Monroe, Polk, Pierce—pointing to Louisiana, pointing to New Mexico, pointing to California, pointing to Oregon, pointing to what has made our country first and foremost among the countries of the world.

And then will come the great card of the convention, headed by the great Bryan himself, "Down with the trusts" "Down with the trusts." And when the applause is over it will be found that the pitchers on the table have been broken by the clashing of the ice within, for that ice will be making merry at five cents a chunk.

I heard a story—this is a brand-new story—it is the vintage of June, 1900. Most of my stories are more venerable. There was a lady with her husband in Florida last winter, he a consumptive, and she a strenuous and tumultuous woman. Her one remark was, as they sat on the piazza, "Stop coughing, John."

John had a hemorrhage. The doctor said he must stay in bed six weeks. His tumultuous wife said: "Doctor, it is impossible. We are traveling on a time-limited ticket, and we have got several more places to go;" so she carried him off. The next station they got to the poor man died, and the sympathetic hotel proprietor said: "Poor madam, what shall we do?" She said: "Box him up. I have got a time-limited ticket and several more places to go to."

Now, we buried 16 to 1 in 1896. We put a monument over it weighing as many tons as the Sierra Nevada, when gold was put into the statutes by a Republican Congress and the signature of William McKinley. Colonel Bryan has been a body snatcher. He has got the corpse out from under the monument, but it is dead. He has got it in his coffin, carrying it along, as did the bereaved widow, because,

he says: I must, I must; I am wedded to this body of sin and death. I must, I must, because I have a time ticket which expires in November."

I remember when I used to go abroad—it is a good thing for a Yankee to go abroad—I used to be ashamed because everywhere they would say: "What is the matter with the Declaration of Independence when you have slavery in your land?" Well, we took slavery out, and now no American is ashamed to go abroad. When I went abroad afterwards, the ship was full of merchants, buying iron and buying steel, and buying wool and buying cotton, and all kinds of goods.

Now, when an American goes around the world, what happens to him when he reaches the capital of Japan? He rides on an electric railway made by American mechanics; when he reaches the territory of China he rides under an electric light invented by Mr. Edison and put up by American artisans. When he goes over the great railway across Siberia, from China to St. Petersburg, he rides on American rails, in cars drawn by American locomotives. When he goes to Germany, he finds our iron and steel climbing over a \$2.50 tariff, and thereby scaring the Kaiser most out of his wits. When he reaches the great Exposition at Paris he finds the French wine-maker saying that American wine cannot be admitted there for the purpose of judgment. When he goes to old London he gets for breakfast California fruit, he gets for lunch biscuit and bread made of Western flour, and he gets for dinner "roast beef of old England" taken from the plains of Montana. His feet tread on a carpet marked "Axminster," made at Yonkers, N. Y.

Now, my friends, this canvass we are entering upon is a canvass of the future; the past is only for record and for reference, and, thank God, we have a reference and a record. What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times



are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over-production goes back to stagnation and to poverty.

The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than they can consume, and we have met the emergency, and by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates, we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Puerto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people, with the Pacific as an American lake, and the American artisans producing better and cheaper goods than any country in the world; and, my friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm and say that, with McKinley for another four years, there is no congestion for America.

Let invention proceed, let production go on, let the mountains bring forth their treasures, let the factories do their best, let labor be employed at the highest wages, because the world is ours, and we have conquered it by Republican principles and by Republican persistency in the principles of American industry and of America for Americans.

Many of you I met in convention four years ago. We all feel what little men we were then compared with what we are to-day. There is not a man here that does not feel 400 per cent. bigger in 1900 than he did in 1896, bigger intellectually, bigger hopefully, bigger patriotically, bigger in the breast from the fact that he is a citizen of a country that has become a world power for peace, for civilization, and for expansion of its industries and the products of its labor.

We have the best ticket ever presented. We have at the head of it a Western man with Eastern notions and we have at the other end an Eastern man with Western character; the statesman and the cowboy; the accomplished man of affairs and the heroic fighter; the man who has proved great as President, and the fighter who has proved great as governor. We leave this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and for Roosevelt.



**At the meeting at Carnegie Hall, June 26, 1900,  
to ratify the nomination of McKinley  
and Roosevelt.**

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS :

I have attended nearly every national convention since I was a voter. Each of them had the peculiarities which made it an expression of the dominant sentiment of the times. After each one of them there were heart burnings to be allayed and enmities growing out of the hot contention of rival candidates, to be pacified. Even where they were most harmonious there was either open revolt or hostile murmur against the results. The Republican convention at Philadelphia is the first where there was no dispute, no rivalry and no contest for either President or Vice-President. But best of all the result of this conference of the chosen representatives of the party from every state and territory has been accepted with joyful acclaim all over the country. There is not a sign of dissatisfaction, not a murmur of dissent anywhere. It is my habit to gather opinions from the citizen whom I meet and who generally knows me whether or not I do him. The cab man who drove me from the station said, "You have given us a fine ticket." The conductor on the Elevated Railroad said a "sure winner, Senator." The railroad men on the trains and around the Grand Central Depot acted and talked as if one of the happiest events possible had come into their lives. The men of affairs in the City said, "The convention has arrested distrust and restored confidence. With the reasonable certainty of the election of McKinley and Roosevelt, we can enlarge our business, engage in new enterprises, construct new factories and mills, open new mines and furnaces and

build more railroads with the certainty that the investment of our money and the opportunity for larger employment for labor will depend entirely upon our wisdom and business sagacity and not incur the perils of political disturbance."

The home-coming of the delegates from a national convention meets either a cheerful greeting or an ominous silence from neighbors and friends. But from Philadelphia the political pilgrims went to New England, to the west, the northwest, the mountain states, the Pacific coast, through cheering thousands, greeted by happy men and women at the station, and welcomed with shouts of "well done" at home. Even the sheep, which in '96 were huddled out of sight, stood in flocks by the road side loudly expressing their delight with heads and tails up as becomes self-respecting and respected sources of American prosperity and national wealth. Very different will be the gathering on the Fourth of July in Kansas City. It must be a depressing sensation to be a member of a convention whose assembly creates alarm. Public men love to believe that their fellow citizens have confidence in their efforts eventuating in the public good. It is a new experience in our politics for the meeting of one of the great parties in national convention to produce in July an arctic chill. The election of Cleveland in '84 created no panic. His re-election in '92 with a congress which would support his measures caused no immediate disturbance. It was only when Democratic measures of revenues and finance practically bankrupted the government, impaired private credit and paralyzed business and industry that the country became alarmed. The alarm, however, only went so far as to repudiate the economic policies which on trial had proved disastrous failures. But when at Chicago in '96 the "Wild Men from Borneo" drove out of the party councils all its statesmen of approved experience, when they relegated to private life the Abram S. Hewitts, the William C. Whitneys, the Edward Coop-

ers in our own state and drove from the party almost every man of national reputation in other states whose name on the ticket or behind the ticket was security for public safety, then there was a feeling that we were on the eve of a revolution.

Every citizen who is prosperous in his farm, in his factory, in his store, in his employment or in his workshop, is looking to Kansas City with fear. The utterances of the leader who is to control the deliberations of this body, give no hope of better times for any man who has a profitable business or a good job. Even the most optimistic Democrat believes and privately says that the election of Colonel Bryan would produce, at least for a time, possibly for two years, a suspension of new enterprises and a hand to mouth policy in the conduct of business which always produces failures, poor markets and weak purchasing power. To-morrow I sail for Europe on one of the great steamers of the American Line, the St. Paul. Her speed and magnificent performance on the ocean are the triumphs of the American ship-builder. Innumerable times she and her companion ship have carried passengers and cargo safely across the great sea. If I should leave her in mid-ocean, with all her comforts, her luxuries and the certainty of her safety, and of her delivering me on time, and happy, on the other side, to take a raft for the purpose of paddling ashore on some unknown coast, or to be picked up by some wanderer on the wave, I should be furnishing an example for the voter who leaves the certainty of everything he cares for in this world, for himself and his family, by leaving McKinley and Roosevelt, for Bryan and Towne and the rudderless unknown. In 1896 the Bryan managers in their advocacy of 16 to 1 and a depreciated currency said, "This new policy will produce a panic but it will be only temporary, and then on the ruins of current business we will build for better times." The burned villages, the ruined farm houses, the people killed or fled, and the garden of Poland made a desert and a waste is

the ghastly story of what is known in history as peace at Warsaw. The Republican party said to the people in '96, "We offer you no experiment but a statesman for candidate for President who as soldier, citizen and statesman, has performed distinguished services for his country. We promise you the policies and the measures which whenever tried have made the country prosperous, powerful and rich." The democratic doctor said to the patient writhing in industrial and financial distress, "I do not know what is the matter with you, but the post mortem will tell and that will be a comfort to your children." The Republican doctor said, "I do know what is the matter with you. You are suffering from patent medicines given by a faculty which wants you to try more and more powerful ones, while we propose to throw away drugs and substitute air, exercise, sound political principles, healthy political activity and the massage of money-making, money-giving and employment."

A party deserves the continuing confidence of the people which fulfils its promises, but the promises must result in beneficial measures. We promised to place our country, now one of the greatest of commercial nations, in harmony with its customers and with the markets of the globe, in unison with commercial nations, upon an equality for competition with its industrial rivals and competitors by adopting the gold standard of values. Against the protest and the votes of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives and the Democratic and Populistic senators we have put this policy in clear and unmistakable language in the laws of the land. We have laid at rest the spirit and the ghost of double standards and changing standards which has disturbed our finances and been the fruitful source of panics for a hundred years. It is a curious fact in the evolution of nations to higher standards of living and of action, that invention and discovery meet the demands of the broader intelligence and the more exacting civilization.

The demand for gold to meet the wants of the world in this rapid combination for its use has stimulated enterprise in the mountains of the United States along the rivers and on the coast of Alaska, in South Africa and in Asia until the production is equal to the demand of the present and so sure for the future that the fears of a gold famine are laid away with the terrors of witchcraft and the immediate conflagration of the universe. The response of our industries and our industrial conditions, the position we have suddenly assumed among commercial nations, the experience of our revenues under the Dingley bill meeting all the requirements of the government and a treasury possessing a large surplus, are an object lesson, never to be forgotten, of the vivifying and revivifying powers of the principles of protection. Against the annual deficiency and the increase of the national debt by the sale of bonds which marked and attended the modified free trade of a Democratic tariff for revenue only, stand in brilliant contrast our overflowing national wealth and the funding of our debt in bonds bearing two per cent. interest which already command a premium under the administration of William McKinley.

The war with Spain is one of the shortest and most brilliant chapters in the history of the nation. It was a marvelous exhibition of the limitless resources and resistless powers of the United States. In a hundred days the fleets of Spain had sunk before the guns of Dewey, of Sampson and of Schley, and the Spanish power, which had misruled for three hundred years, was driven from the Western Hemisphere, Cuba was free and Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines were ours. The Commissioners of the United States met at Paris the Commissioners of Spain. Spain defeated and helpless was at the mercy of the conqueror whose power she had provoked. The question of terms involved whether or not indemnity should be demanded beyond the property we had won. The Atlantic cable

kept the American Commissioners in immediate touch with President McKinley; the world problem for his Country was before him. He said this was a war unselfishly begun to free from intolerable oppression a neighboring people. It was not for conquest nor for gain, but its results having imposed upon this government duties far beyond any dreamed of when the war began, we are pledged to the people of Cuba to guarantee them law and liberty until they can govern themselves. We have conquered Porto Rico and find the same oppression there. We will incorporate that island into the territory of the United States. We have conquered the Philippine Islands and find still greater cruelty there. We will hold those islands and give their people the blessings of justice, of protection for life and property, of law and liberty of which they never dreamed before. We have no desire to humiliate our enemy. We will give her twenty millions of dollars to compensate her for her own public property which is left on the islands. Porto Rico has already her own government. From the emergency fund, which was intended for war, the United States has contributed a million of dollars to save the people of that island who had been reduced to starvation by an unparalleled calamity of hurricane and flood. A wise tariff exempts every article which could be used in the recuperation of Porto Rican industries and the promotion of Porto Rican education, the revenues collected upon Porto Rican products in the United States are remitted back to the Porto Rican treasury and the government of Porto Rico, largely composed of its own citizens, can change this method of raising revenues for the Porto Rican government, for roads, for schools, for internal improvements and for development whenever it sees fit now. Though only a few months under American rule and local self-government, Porto Rico is rising from the ruins of her coffee plantations, of her sugar fields, of her tobacco crops and of her farms, to a



condition of prosperity, of wealth and of distributed happiness among the people which she has never known before. In the Philippines there is left only the mutterings here and there of brigandage. Filipino leaders and people are appreciating our good faith and experiencing the benefit of American rule. The propositions of pacifications for the few who are out, who are worth considering, have all been agreed upon, save one, and that is the expulsion of the Friars. It is not the policy of the American people to expel anybody, but under just and equal laws, impartially administered, to preserve rights and redress wrongs and compel everybody to respect the right and live in peace with everybody else.

“What is the use of the Philippines?” An immediate and unexpected use has developed within the last few days. That country is unworthy of its position among nations which cannot and will not protect its citizens wherever they are rightfully. Great Britain, Germany and France, Russia, Austria and Italy follow their people with the protecting power of their governments wherever they are. During the years when we had little or no navy our merchants who were in places where revolutions imperiled their lives, were compelled to seek the protection of the consuls of European governments. The guns of Dewey in Manila Bay were heard across Asia and Africa, they echoed through the Palace at Peking and brought to the Oriental mind a new and potent force among western nations. We, in common, with the countries of Europe are striving to enter the limitless markets of the east with the products of our skill and industry. Those people respect nothing but power. In the uprising of fanatics in China and the massacre and torture of foreigners, alike with Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, the safety of the American citizen is involved. The missionaries and their wives and children from every religious denomination in America are there. American merchants

introducing the industries of our Country are there. The students of our colleges utilizing their vacation for travel and study are there, the accredited representatives of our government, its consuls, its minister and their families are there. There is no duty higher, no responsibility greater than that around them should be the protection of the American flag and the protecting arm of American power. Instead of being six thousand miles distant, as we would have been a year ago, we have an army at Manilla and a fleet in its harbor within four days of Hong Kong. The moral and political effect of our ability to join at once with the civilized nations in this work of rescue is incalculable. The American soldier and sailor arriving so speedily from our own territory is a demonstration which will advance our interests and procure for us a recognition which would be impossible otherwise in a half century of effort. The American representing America or engaged in trade which benefits his Country will have among barbarous and semi-barbarous people recognition, position and influence beyond the dreams of diplomacy. I believe the Philippines will be enormous markets and sources of wealth to the United States, that their own people will be advanced in civilization and the benefits of self-government, but, beyond these considerations, which justify their retention, the part that they enable us to play upon the world's stage in this war of humanity, of the protection of the dearest rights of our people, of the rescue of our kindred and the position of our Country among the millions of Asia compensate and justify their capture, the suppression of the rebellion within their borders and the holding of them forever as territories of the United States.

We have all seen the picture and felt quicker pulsations as we viewed it, of the period in the impassioned sermon of Peter the Hermit, when the knights gathered about him raised their standards and swore upon the cross to enter upon a crusade for the redemption

of the holy sepulchre. That was a mission in an age of chivalry, and, from our standpoint of to-day, absurdities. This is an industrial age. All countries are brought together in the same markets, that is, all productive countries of high civilization, by steam and electricity. At the Republican Convention at Philadelphia when McKinley was nominated by a common impulse the standards bearing the names of the states were torn from their fastenings and carried by enthusiastic delegates upon the stage and grouped about the American flag. It was the old medieval picture under modern conditions. No knights in armor, no serried hosts bent upon battle and slaughter but mighty states forming the American commonwealth pledging themselves about the emblem of their nationality to do earnest battle for the election of the candidate and the perpetuation of the policies which would carry the products of American mines, mills, factories and furnaces, the resources of American forests, the harvests of American fields, the results of American invention, the skill of American artisans across the seas to the other side of the globe. Overproduction in all European nations is producing a condition which lowers wages for those who work, denies work for those who wish to and produces starvation and despair. To escape from these calamities they are partitioning Africa, invading Asia, constructing great navies and feverishly pushing railways across the desert and plains of the eastern continent. With a production in the United States of two thousand millions of dollars annually more than we can consume, the United States also to keep up its wage scale for its artisans and laborers and employment for its citizens must have foreign markets. We have them by the victories of the Spanish war, we have them in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines. We have them in the open door in the east secured by the diplomacy of William McKinley and John Hay. The Democratic party promises nothing but retreat—

retreat, stagnation and decay. Anti-expansion, anti-imperialism, anti-militarism is their cry. Anti-expansion with Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Pierce and Polk all against them; with the fifteen states carved out of the Louisiana purchase; with fruitful Florida, taken from Spain, California and the Pacific Slope, New Mexico and Arizona crying out against their folly and their shame. Anti-imperialism when McKinley is doing no more and no less than did Jefferson, Monroe and Jackson; anti-militarism, when the soldier of the United States is rarely seen by an American citizen. But the deeds of the American soldier whenever his flag and his honor are at stake at Santiago, or San Juan Hill, at Porto Rico or in the Philippines find a responsive chord by every fireside in our land. Anti-trust, when the Republican party, upon the report of the Industrial Commission, composed of all parties, will deal with the trusts at the next session of congress so as to protect the people against all combinations which would corner the necessities of life and to protect legitimate industry from ridiculous assaults which would produce irreparable disaster, suspension of business and paralysis of employment. I believe that the great safe-guard for the public in all corporations, in all concerns that live by a public charter, is compulsory publicity, frequent reports and punishment for false ones. "Light, more light" is the motto of safety. Every transaction of a corporation and trust should be as open as day for its stock-holders, its bond-holders and the public. This done, nine-tenths of the battle is won. Col. Bryan in his criticism of the Republican platform says that it straddles on the trust question. When the Colonel writes the trust plank for the Democratic platform and presents it to the delegates at Kansas City he faces a situation.

Of all prophets and worthies of the Old Testament David with his Psalms seems nearest to our modern life. The chords of his harp as he touches them finds response in our daily condition. He evidently had in

view with his prophetic soul the Democratic convention dealing with the trust problem when he wrote the 73d Psalm. I commend to Colonel Bryan, who is learned in the scriptures, as he prepares the trust plank with the situation produced by the Ice Trust in New York, before him the 18th verse of that Psalm, where David says, speaking of the Lord's dealings with certain men, "Surely, thou settest them in slippery places and casteth them down to destruction."

Well my friends I need not speak for the candidates. Their names are on your tongues and they are in your hearts. With the expansion of our territory, our power and our opportunity, our people have expanded. We are all broader and wiser men than we were four years ago. We are beyond the power for narrow men, narrow measures and little Americans to capture our judgment or our vote. We elected William McKinley believing he would make a good President. At the end of four years, during which he has had to solve the greatest problems of peace and war, he stands before the Country and the world as one of the ablest and wisest of our Presidents and foremost among the rulers of the nations of the globe. We admired Teddy Roosevelt, the assemblyman, for his courage and his "indiscretion"; Commissioner Roosevelt, of the Police, for reform which demanded executive ability, honesty and vigor; Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who did much to prepare for the war which he favored and then modestly and firmly resisted the appeals of family and friends to take his chances as a soldier because he said, having urged others to make this fight, his place was with them. In the responsible office of Governor of the State of New York he too has expanded. He has been one of the strongest of the chief magistrates of the Empire State. His all-roundedness, his thorough Americanism on Fifth Avenue, on the ranch, on the battle field leading his Rough Riders, and in executive office standing up for what he believed the right, made him the idol of

the great convention and led to the resistless demand that the running mate for William McKinley, our great President, should be Colonel and Governor Theodore Roosevelt. Good-night, my friends and good-bye. I never took a trip across the seas so proud of my country, so confident of my party, so hopeful of the future and so firmly convinced of the continuance of American prosperity, American good times and the hopeful and happy conditions of us all. Thank God, we are Americans!

## Interview on Return from Abroad, August 23, 1900.

The reason Europe is so interested in our election is that trade follows the flag, and Europeans do not want us to assert ourselves. Every nation in Europe which sends its goods into the markets of the world realizes that in America it has a competitor for trade that it cannot successfully combat. Our machinery and other products are in demand the world over, owing to merit and workmanship, and every nation that manufactures goods to compete with us does not want to see us expand. Four years ago all Europe wanted to see McKinley elected, because they believed that the election of Bryan meant a repudiation of obligations and a depreciation of the value of money. This does not worry them now. Most of the American securities formerly held abroad have come back to pay Europe's bills, and the balance of trade is in our favor. Now Europe wants to see Bryan elected because Europe believes that he will be against expansion, and consequently will throttle any competition from American manufacturers and producers in the markets of the world.

Nineteen hundred is a very gratifying year for an American abroad. One of the phenomena of the close of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth century is the position our country has taken in two years. Before 1898 no ruler or minister in Europe was interested in American opinion or action. Now the situation is the reverse. Every cabinet reckons the attitude of the United States in formulating plans. Every European nation finds its production enormously in excess of its consumption of manufactured arti-

cles. Asia and Africa are the markets. The possession of them or access to them is the sum of Old World diplomacy, operations and armaments. The excellence and in many cases the superiority of our goods and energy of our traders and the cheapness of our transportation are exciting alarm. This is evident on the Continent. It does not appear in Great Britain. English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh of all classes are intensely cordial to America and Americans. The taking of one-half of the British war loan in New York at nearly 1 per cent. less than London offered amazed Lombard Street. It put thinking caps on financiers everywhere. If New York is to be the financial centre of the world, and our surplus money is for loan cheaper than it can be had elsewhere, the event is of greatest consequence on both sides of the Atlantic. The policy and traditions of centuries are upset, and Old World bankers must go to school. If the governments of the Continent saw any way to check our advance, they would adopt it. I heard more discussions, and intelligent ones, as to our home conditions this summer than in twenty years before. The Powers are so nicely balanced that our position on Eastern questions is of vital importance. The one question is, What will the United States do in China, and afterward in the Orient? There is no disposition to forcibly prevent our entrance on an equal footing into China and the East, but tremendous anxiety for us not to press the subject, and especially not to push our products in competition with theirs among the people of Asia.

The United States exhibit at the Paris Exposition is very impressive. It is a remarkable showing of what we have done and the possibilities of development. We will have the largest number of medals and honorable mentions. The fair itself has been grossly misrepresented. It is one of the best industrial exhibitions yet given. The French are very hospitable and perfectly fair. There is not a sign of injustice, even when their own products are in the competition,



and there can be no well grounded complaint of the awards of the judges. The American athletes carried off three-fourths of the prizes, and the majority of the judges were Frenchmen. It was an inspiring sight at the dinner given them by Commissioner-General Peck to see the modest, manly fellows from our colleges. They represented an exhaustless supply of American grit, pluck and manhood.

We are too new for our foreign friends to catch on to all our national creeds. The band in one of the restaurants at the Exposition, where I was lunching, played the "Marsellaise," and the French cheered; then "The Watch on the Rhine," and the Germans applauded, and so on through the hymns of all nations. Finally, I sent in a fee and request for them to play the national anthem of the United States. After several minutes' consultation they gave us "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-Night." A few bands can play "Yankee Doodle," but I do not believe there is one which has the music of "The Star Spangled Banner."

I was in Paris on July 14, the Fourth of the French Republic. There was a review in the Bois de Boulogne in the morning of an army division of thirty thousand men by President Loubet. The Fourteenth in Paris the street crowds call their day, and they may deal roughly with those riding in carriages. They call them aristocrats or plutocrats. One family I knew had their coachman knocked off the box, but the police rescued them just as their carriage was being overturned. My boy was in a cab, with the courier on the box with the driver. Two on the box was surely a sign of wealth. The mob gathered, shouting, "This is no place for capitalists!" but the driver turned quickly and sharply down a bypath and escaped. The entire possessions of this cabload of capitalists—the courier, the driver and the boy—would not have purchased beer for the crowd. On the other hand, several friends rode half the night through good natured crowds dancing madly on the asphalt pavements, and

only exchanged a little chaff and a cheer for the Republic.

The Government celebrated the day by a gala performance at the Grand Opera House, which, through the courtesy of our Ambassador, General Horace Porter, I had the opportunity of attending. The President, Cabinet, Senate, Deputies and high officers of the army and navy and the diplomatic corps, all with the ladies of their families, made up the audience. It was a very brilliant affair, but very different from our method of observing the Fourth of July. The authorities have bands in all the squares, and the people dance. Any young woman standing near you would feel neglected if you did not promptly urge joining in the revel. It is all very jolly and in the best spirit.

I met two distinguished men—one in England, the other in France—who were intimate with Napoleon III and with Bismarck, and who gave me interesting accounts of the motives of the Franco-German War. Louis Napoleon said he had no intention of having war with Germany. He knew France was wholly unprepared. The Benedetti quarrel and its results took him wholly by surprise. He was preparing for a constitutional and representative government for France, so that his son might have a surer succession. He saw that his own autocratic sway must end in revolution, but thought that in a few years he could have a government of ministries and parties like England, which would safeguard the throne. Bismarck, on the other hand, knew as well as Napoleon the unpreparedness of France. He, Von Moltke and Von Roon went together when the dispatch came from Benedetti, Napoleon's Ambassador, at the suggestion of King William, from Ems. It was a peaceful message. Von Moltke and Von Roon were disappointed because they all saw with Bismarck that only by a war with France and arousing German patriotism could Prussia forge to the front and its king become Emperor of United Germany. Bismarck took the dispatch, and added

nothing to it, but took out several words, handed it back to his companions, and it was at once concluded that such a message was a declaration of war. One of these men said further that Bismarck told him he (Bismarck) was opposed to taking any territory from France. But the demand of the South German States for Alsace and Lorraine as a protection of their boundaries was so peremptory he had to yield to secure their joining the empire.

The coal famine threatens serious times for Great Britain. The Government promised to impose an export duty, but Parliament adjourned without enacting the law. Such a proposition from such a source shows how necessity modifies economic policies settled so long that they are claimed to be principles. Coal has gone up in price in England in the last six months \$2 a ton. If this should happen with us it would be a charge of 3 per cent. on the capital of the New York Central. The English railway managers are very able men, but their ingenuity is taxed to the utmost to meet this increased cost of coal and keep up the same dividends, and in most lines at their half yearly meetings there was a reduction. Coal for railway and manufacturing purposes is now \$6.75 a ton, delivered. It is less than half that for the same purposes in the United States. Coal is the life of industrial nations. It has enabled Great Britain to support 36,000,000 of people in far greater comfort than 5,000,000 before the discovery of its use as fuel. We certainly do not want to prosper because of the misfortunes of others, but unless fresh sources of coal supply can be found in Europe there are incalculable possibilities for our product in the markets of the world.

The opening for the sale of American coal is very great. If the ocean carriage was arranged the market could be seized at once, and lines established for permanent occupancy and growth. The enhanced cost of coal has increased household expenses for the wage earners and caused much distress. It is leading to a

universal demand for higher wages. This again will increase the cost of production. But with coal at less than half the price a ton for our manufacturers and transportation lines that it is in Europe, the advantages in competition in every industry are so enormously on our side as to upset every calculation based on previous conditions. The prospect is as startling in its possibilities of development and prosperity for the United States as in the anxiety it is already causing our friends across the Atlantic.

Politicians in Great Britain are expecting a general election in October. All parties are preparing for it, and all admit that the Conservative majority will be so increased as to almost eliminate opposition. It is not so many years ago when, in the height of the power of Mr. Gladstone, the prediction was generally accepted that the Liberals would always govern. Now the Liberal party seems hopelessly divided, both as to principles and leadership. The court, the aristocracy, with few exceptions, society, the moneyed men and institutions and the universities are with the Conservatives. How can a party win, they say, which has not a single duke in its membership? But shrewder statesmen fear such a preponderating majority, and in it the opposition see their hope. It is an interesting study for the future whether with the classes practically all on one side, some able, aggressive and constructive leader may now array the masses on the other side with undreamed of Radical results.

## At the Republican Ratification Meeting in Brooklyn, September 27, 1900.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: While in attendance last week at a joyous wedding of a young relative, the thought occurred to me of the happy results to the entire American family of the nuptials between sound money and prosperity four years ago. The paramount question to-day with us is, Shall that couple be divorced? There has been no quarrel between the principals; there has been no disagreement; there are no reasons for separation. The dissolution, if it comes at all, must be by the arbitrary act of the beneficiaries of the union.

The present campaign emphasizes the difference in practical life, between a prophet whose predictions must stand the test of time and experience and the pledge of a party whose promises are based upon principles which have worked out in the past the results which are guarantees for the future. In other words, theory and experience are again, as in 1896, in hostile array.

The Morrell tariff law was passed in 1860 for the purpose of raising revenues to carry on the war. It not only did that, but it gave protection to American industries and stimulated American productiveness. Under its operations the country has advanced by leaps and bounds into the foremost place among the industrial nations of the world. From being a debtor it has become a creditor nation; from purchasing most of the necessities of life abroad it manufactures all the necessities and most of the luxuries which its people require; from being the best market in which the foreign manufacturer could sell his goods it has occupied the home market and gone forth to compete with the older nations at their own trade centers and on all the

continents and islands where the world is struggling to sell its goods.

During the whole of this period the theorists have been proclaiming that we never could have stable prosperity and never foreign markets except as we approached more nearly absolute free trade. The experiment had no opportunity for trial for thirty years, but with the passage of the Wilson tariff bill in 1893 the opportunity for trial came to the professor. It is needless to recapitulate the results. Only four per cent. of the business of the country is done in currency, 96 per cent. of our transactions and our enterprises being based upon credit. Of course, behind the credit are the assets upon which it is based. With credit and our exhaustless resources behind it, with confidence, without which there can be no credit, there is no limit to the possibilities of American prosperity. But with the exploitation of the free trade idea came the demonstration of the interdependence of labor and capital and every business upon one another. The merchant did not dare lay in goods, because he could not safely calculate at what price he could sell them. The manufacturer could not anticipate, as usual, the market for the coming season. The producer of raw material found no demand for his product. Soon every vocation and every enterprise were involved in a general catastrophe. It is estimated that 5,000,000 of the 20,000,000 of wage earners were thrown out of employment and 2,000,000 more were working for lower wages or on shorter time. The farmer found the harvests of his fields and his live stock selling for less than cost because of the paralysis of the purchasing power of the people. The competitors in foreign lands of our manufacturers were regaining their hold upon the American market.

Under these conditions we entered upon the canvass of 1896. Distress gave Populists and silver mine owners their opportunity, and under the lead of Mr. Bryan they captured the machine of the Democratic party upon a revolutionary programme. Democratic states-

men of demonstrated ability, wisdom and achievements were driven from the organization. Colonel Bryan became the prophet of the period. His prophecy was that the success of McKinley and the enactment of the gold standard would make times far worse than they were; the mortgage of the farm would be foreclosed and the free farm would be mortgaged; silver and wheat would go down together; the numbers of the unemployed would constantly increase and wages keep going lower; the currency would be contracted and the debtor class wiped out of existence; America would retire within herself for competition with the world's producers, and the lot of the American people would be one of poverty and despair.

McKinley was elected; the Wilson tariff bill was repealed; the Dingley tariff bill was enacted; the gold standard was put upon the statute books, and every one of Colonel Bryan's prophecies has come out the reverse of his predictions.

He is again a candidate of the Bryanized Democracy, of the Populists and of the Free Silver Republicans. He is again seer. He prophesies as glibly as he did in 1896 upon what will happen if McKinley is re-elected. His prophecies now are based upon claims which have no foundation. "We have prosperity," he says, "but it cannot last; it is a delusion and a snare; the evils which I predicted for the gold standard will come to pass if time enough is allowed for the principle to work itself out. But it is imperialism, with its expenses, and militarism, with its destruction of liberties which are to ruin the country."

Having proved himself such a colossal failure as a prophet in 1896 we can hardly believe in 1900 that the Colonel has now the real mantle of Elijah. The difficulty with the terrors which he depicts from Republican principles and policies is that they have all been tested, both under Republican and Democratic administrations. Protection of American industries has given America to Americans, and sent forth our pro-

ducts to the conquest of the markets of the world. The gold standard of value has divorced us from Mexico and China, has placed us in commercial relations with and upon the same commercial basis as the great industrial nations of Christendom. It has given stability to our credit; it has made the American dollar recognized upon an equal value with the English sovereign, or the French Louis everywhere around the globe; it has given steadiness to our business, unexampled credit to our government, and is rapidly making us the creditor among nations.

The terror of imperialism is a ghost. I mean American imperialism. It has been tried for a hundred years. It was practiced by Washington; it was tested upon an enormous scale by Jefferson; it was put in operation by Monroe, Jackson, Polk and Pierce. All gave it their sanction; all of them, to the great glory and power of our country, pursued the same path of imperialism which is now being trod by President McKinley. American militarism, which Mr. Bryan so much fears, and from which he prophesies such dreadful results, was also tried by Jefferson in Louisiana, by Jackson in Florida, by every administration in newly acquired territories from time to time with no other results than their pacification, the restoration of peace, the opening of courts and the protection of life, liberty and property for the citizen.

A prophet who attempts to fool the people by holding up as untried theory demonstrated results, and upon that theory predicting the reverse of what history has established, insults the intelligence of every person who is familiar with the story of the marvelous growth of the United States in the nineteenth century. The Republican programme was as clear and as simple in 1896 as it is in 1900. Said Patrick Henry, in his well-remembered speech, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience; I have no way of judging the future except by the past." By these guides the Republican party in 1896 promised,



with the absolute certainty of their ability to fulfill their pledges, that if granted power they would restore to the statute book the principle of protection to American industries, and give stability to currency, to credit and to values by establishing gold as a standard for all our circulation and transactions.

Never in the history of legislation have results so quickly followed measures. The figures are not only gratifying to us, but they are the amazement and the puzzle of the Old World. Our exports have reached the amazing figure of two thousand millions. The output of our factories is rapidly overtaking the magnificent surplus of our fields. Every day's cable brings to us the news of the triumph of the American manufacturer in the competitions which are going on for railway supplies, for bridges, for electrical appliances, for harvesting machines, for textile fabrics and for steel and iron all over the earth. The most startling contrasts ever presented are the story of the balance of trade; the story of our prosperity as measured by the things which we sell in excess of the things which we buy—the surplus which must be paid for practically in cash.

For the 103 years prior to the commencement of the administration of President McKinley the balance of trade in favor of the United States was \$386,000,000, while for the three years of McKinley's administration it has been \$1,600,000,000, or nearly five times that of the 103 years. The effect of pouring into our lap this vast sum, and of continuing it from year to year, is incalculable. It is felt in every avenue of business and in every employment. It has made us in a single year a creditor nation. London for nearly a century has been the money center of the globe. Now England herself has come to New York to find money for her bonds. Germany, within the past few days, has come here also for \$28,000,000. Sweden, within a short time, has borrowed more money, and Russia is also our debtor. Instead of a moneystarvation predicted by Colonel Bryan

in 1896, the plethora of money has made it so cheap that loans on call are cheaper in Wall street than in London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna. The surplus of the balance of trade, flowing into every business and into the farms, has placed in the vaults of the banks of Kansas and Nebraska money so largely in excess of the local needs that they are loaning it out at unprecedentedly low rates of interest at Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and New York. The \$58,000,000 borrowed of us by Great Britain, Germany, Russia and Sweden in the past few weeks have not raised the price of money to the American borrower a hundredth part of one per cent.

There never were so many farms upon which the mortgages have been paid as in the last four years; never so many farmers who could spend so much for improvements or additions. There never has been such full employment for labor, and wages have never been so high before.

We all lament the strikes. We wish they could be averted or settled. There is this difference between the strikes which were on in 1893, 1894 and 1895 and the strikes now. The strikes then were constant protests against continual reductions in wages and discharges of employes. The strikes then were often a blessing to the employers because they relieved them from the manufacture of goods for which they had no market. The strikes now are on the other side. They are to secure for labor a larger share in the prosperity and productiveness of the country. The settlement of a strike in the hard times from 1893 to 1896 meant nothing to the worker; the settlement of a strike now means his immediate re-employment. There is always a golden mean between demand on one side and resistance on the other, which should be found by amicable arrangement or by arbitration.

Mr. Bryan does not deny the wonderful prosperity of our country and of our people; he does not promise any better returns to the farmer or the man-

ufacturer or the merchant; he does not promise any greater employment or higher wages to the laborer; he does not promise the exploitation of new enterprises and the conditions which make money active and capital useful by new additions to the productive power of the country and therefore a larger employment and a greater distribution of money. The country is to be no better than it is to-day or was yesterday by his election even upon his own showing, upon his own prophecy and upon his own promise. His position, measured by plain standards of business, is simply this: "The country is drunk with prosperity; it is an inebriation which is unhealthy and cannot last; if you elect me I will check the pace, curtail this unhealthy expansion; my methods and my remedies will arrest the disease and eradicate it before it has destroyed the body politic." In other words, through the processes of a milder catastrophe, he will prevent the greater one which he thinks otherwise inevitable. He is the veritable successor of the doctor in the well known and venerable story, who threw his patient into fits because he was death on fits. But, dear Doctor Bryan, except a little surface irritation here and there from too good living, there is nothing the matter with the American patient. He is in magnificent health, his vitality was never so vigorous, his brain never so active, his purposes never so clear and his future never so promising before. It will be many years before he leaves the healthy diet upon which he is now feeding for your patent medicines.

The best speech I have heard in this campaign was made by a workman in the Brooks Locomotive Works at Dunkirk, where I spoke the other day to eight or ten thousand people. Said he: "On general principles I am a Democrat as the Democratic party used to be, but I am not a Bryan man in this campaign. On the contrary, I intend to vote for McKinley. My reasons are these: In 1892 there were sixteen hundred men employed in our locomotive works and we were receiving

satisfactory wages. In 1894 and 1895 the orders fell off for locomotives, so that in 1896 there were only one hundred and fifty men employed in the works. There are now twenty-two hundred employed at wages higher than we ever had before. Orders for our locomotives are coming in from all over the country and from across the Atlantic. The business is increasing. If Bryan is elected I know that I will receive no steadier employment, for now I am employed all the while; I know that my wages will not be increased; I know that my condition cannot be any better; I am afraid that his election will create disturbances which will lead to another reduction of the productiveness of the works and of the force here employed, and among the rest I may lose for a long time my job. I know with McKinley I do not take any such risks. I am going to vote for a sure thing and not vote to peril the sure thing with the certainty that I will be no better off, but may be ruined."

The gambler's chance which Mr. Bryan presents differs from that offered in any other game ever presented to the speculative mind. If McKinley is elected, according to his game, the people lose; if Bryan is elected they lose just the same, but not so much. The unfortunate player is to see more or less of his stake disappear in either event.

Colonel Bryan is the lightning change artist on political issues. In 1896 his paramount issue was the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one. In his speech of acceptance the paramount issue was imperialism. Later the paramount issue became militarism. He ran away from sixteen to one for weeks, and then, in his letter of acceptance, made that the paramount issue. The unpopularity of this garment has led him, as he flashes around the ring, to make trusts the paramount issue. At first the importance of the issues, as he presented them, was according to their position in the platform from Kansas City. It was as if the preacher should say that stealing, adultery, murder and coveting your neighbor's wife and destroying your

neighbor's family were not important because they were too far down on the list of the Ten Commandments. It is loudly proclaimed that the campaign in the State of New York is to be run upon trusts; it is given out by the Democratic National Headquarters that that issue must now be pushed in front. Feeling the popular pulse indicates that the doctrine of the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one is fatal in the East, and fighting American imperialism and American militarism is fatal in the West. And so, for a few days, the effort will be made to frighten the country upon the danger of trusts.

The only party which has ever attempted to meet the trust issue is the Republican party. It enacted the Sherman anti-trust law, which is the only effective law upon the books upon that subject. It passed the constitutional amendment in the last House of Representatives, with every Democratic vote save seven against it. I look in vain through the speeches of Mr. Bryan or any of the Democratic orators for a definition of a trust, or how to control it.

Outside of agriculture eight-tenths of the business of the country is transacted in the corporate form. The reason is that in the tremendous competition of our times great capital is required to successfully conduct large enterprises. This capital has to be the result of contributions of the many. Some gentlemen spoke to me the other day who were interested in a project for the construction of a plant for the manufacture of structural iron. They informed me that no plant now can compete with the American, English, German, French or Belgian manufacturers with a capital of less than \$5,000,000. Invention and discovery, the utilization of steam and electricity have enormously increased production and have correspondingly increased the number employed, but they have compelled the adoption of the most expensive machinery. I was told of one great mill where the invention of new and more productive machinery compelled the destroying in a

single year of machinery which was comparatively new and which cost a million of dollars. Any legislation or action preventing the operation of these plants would throw eight-tenths of the skilled labor out of employment and produce the most disastrous of panics.

A trust which controls the necessities of life and prevents all competition and can dictate the price to the raw material man, to the laborer, to the carrier and to the consumer is a menace, is unlawful now and can be reached by honest prosecuting officers, and the laws to reach any such trusts should be made as drastic, as searching and as effective as human language will permit.

Experience, both in England, where everything is concentrated in great plants, and in this country, has shown, in the first place, that publicity—frequent reports to public officials fully empowered to compel such reports and investigate their accuracy—are a protection both to the public and to the stockholders. It also shows that over-capitalized combinations are too weak to withstand the assaults of new enterprises of a similar character upon hard pan as to capital and with the newest appliances in the mills and factories. The American public knows, to its sorrow, of nearly a dozen such enterprises, which have gone to the wall in the last few years, driven there by the capital, enterprise and business capacity of the new competitors.

The principles of the Republican party have made its administrations state builders, while the Democratic leaders are archeologists. The reconstruction of the states, the protection of American industries, the resumption of specie payments, the adoption of a standard of value in harmony with the commerical nations of the world, the placing of our national credit upon such firm foundations that we can borrow money at two per cent. as against Great Britain at four, the transfer of industrial and financial supremacy from the Old World to the New, the open door to the Orient for the surplus production of our labor and skill and the foothold in

the East which commands that situation, the control of the American market, the creation of conditions which place us in a position to compete in every market around the globe, prosperity for the present and security for the future—these are the achievements of Republican policies and principles and measures.

Colonel Bryan and his associates call this "imperialism." It is American imperialism. He charges the colonial policy of Rome with the destruction of the Roman Empire, but in his antiquarian research he overlooks the acquisition of Louisiana by Jefferson, out of which territory have been carved fifteen prosperous and growing commonwealths of this union, and the Indian Territory, to be ultimately divided into other commonwealths. The curator of a museum might overlook and be careless of the Sermon on the Mount or the Declaration of Independence because his mind was absorbed in deciphering an Egyptian papyrus giving the story of a dynasty six thousand years before Christ, which had never been heard of before, but there is no excuse for an American statesman, politician, student or boy forgetting that Jefferson acquired Louisiana, and Polk and Pierce California, New Mexico and Arizona and parts of Utah and Colorado and transformed them into the homes of industrious, free and happy peoples by the same processes of American imperialism.

The absurd reaches the climax of grotesqueness in the effort to make an emperor of President McKinley. For three years every friend of Colonel Bryan, in Congress, on the platform and in the press, has been seeking to discredit the President by representing him as having his ear eternally on the ground to catch the sound of popular approval or disapproval. They have charged that he lacked the strong qualities of Jackson because he sought so eagerly and was so obedient to the popular will. Now for electioneering purposes he is a Caesar and a Czar.

The emperor of the United States is its fifteen mil-

lions of voters. The Czar of Russia by his undisputed will governs a hundred and twenty-five millions of subjects. The people of the United States, by their imperial voice at the ballot box, govern themselves. They confide large powers to the President, and at the end of his term they call him to account for his stewardship. They put over him the Supreme Court of the United States, which can declare void and unconstitutional his acts, the Congress, which can tie his hands, refuse him supplies to carry on the government and pass laws over his veto which reverse his policies. They authorize the House of Representatives, elected every two years, to impeach him for violation of law or the Constitution, and give the Senate power, as a court, upon these charges, to depose, disgrace and punish him. The tyranny and arbitrary power with which he is charged with governing our island possessions is precisely the same as the government by Jefferson of Louisiana, of Florida by Monroe and Jackson, under acts of Congress which placed specifically all the legislative, civil and military authority over these territories in the hands of the President of the United States.

Colonel Bryan says with a sneer that the legislation upon Porto Rico makes the citizen of that island only eighty-five per cent. of a man. The legislation for that island takes the Porto Rican out of the destitution, hopelessness and practical pauperism into which he had been plunged by hurricane and by flood, and makes him a prosperous citizen. It gives him courts, justice, the management of his own affairs in municipalities, the election of his own legislature, the imposition of his own taxes, protection for life, property and civil and religious rights, none of which did he have before.

• I am a member in the United States Senate of the committee on Pacific Islands. There came before us the representatives from Porto Rico of every industry in the island. When we learned the paralysis by the destruction caused by hurricane and flood of its three



industries—coffee and sugar and tobacco—and that eighty per cent. of its people, who are agricultural laborers, were starving and had no employment, there were two methods of meeting the emergency and resurrecting the industries of the island. One was to support the people out of the United States Treasury, which meant pauperism; the other, to provide them with the means for their own regeneration. We authorized the expenditure in relief works of over a million dollars; we returned to them the \$2,000,000 of duties which had been collected before the new schedule of the government went into effect. We provided for a duty of fifteen per cent. upon American products going into the island which were articles of luxury, leaving the articles of necessity and education free, and we gave that money into the Porto Rican treasury. We imposed a duty of fifteen per cent. upon the products coming from Porto Rico into the United States as against the same products of Cuba, which pay one hundred per cent. and of the British islands which pay one hundred per cent. and, instead of putting that money into the treasury of the United States, we returned it to the people of Porto Rico. The moneys collected at the ports of Porto Rico by the customs authorities upon articles imported from foreign countries, instead of going into the treasury of the United States, also go into the treasury of Porto Rico. With these funds roads are being built, schoolhouses erected, the government of the island carried on and measures of relief prosecuted which give employment to the people and the opportunities for the rehabilitation of its industries to the island. Every dollar collected upon dutiable goods, which are bought by the inhabitants of New Mexico, Arizona and our other territories, goes into the United States treasury. Internal revenue taxation is extended over these same territories, from which Porto Rico is exempt. The island legislature can at any moment change the method of taxation, and raise revenues directly if they see fit, but in the mean-

time this beautiful possession in the Pacific, which guards our interests in the Gulf of Mexico, the Nicaraguan Canal, and our Pacific and Southern coasts, is the petted and favored child of the Republic.

The two other dangers to our institutions, according to our friends the enemy, are militarism and the department store, both threatening our liberty and our independence. We cannot be too often reminded of the difference between our armies and the conscripted forces of Europe. War and peace with citizen soldiers have received two marvelous illustrations and presented two wonderful pictures in our history. These pictures stand in the forefront to the credit of representative government and a people governing themselves. The one is the Continental Army under Washington, ragged, footsore and unpaid, instead of seizing the government on the example of all history, disbanding and returning to their dismantled homes as private citizens; the other the million men under Grant, saluting the great commander as they marched past when the war was over, and then returning to the industries from which they volunteered to save the Republic. We have seventy-seven millions of people and one hundred thousand soldiers. By the operations of the Military Act this will be reduced to a very much smaller number within two years. We have in the State of New York about seven millions of people. We have, if all the reserves were called out, a million and a half of fighting men. The proportion of the army of the United States, with its one hundred thousand, for the State of New York would be about seven thousand seven hundred. When Colonel Bryan comes I can assure him that no matter how great his fears or how real his terrors the seven millions of people and the million and a half of fighting men in the State of New York do not expect to have their liberties taken away by seven thousand seven hundred United States soldiers, none of whom could do anything in that line if they would, and none of whom would if they could.

Jefferson governed thirty-five thousand Frenchmen in Louisiana without asking their consent; Monroe imposed courts, taxation and government upon thousands of Spaniards, Americans and English in Florida without asking their consent; Jackson licked or locked up those who refused to give their consent. Alaska has been governed since its purchase by Democratic and Republican presidents upon executive order and without consultation with its inhabitants.

The consent of the governed is a question far more acute in the eleven states which are sure for Bryan, because the people of these old commonwealths are governed without their consent, than it is in our new territories. North Carolina would be for McKinley by a large majority if its people were permitted to vote. Even Louisiana would be fighting ground if the polls were free. The canvass in those states is already made. Their electoral votes are secured. The elections will be perfunctory because it is a count by partisan inspectors and not the voice of the people.

Colonel Bryan, when asked what he had to say about taking away the suffrage from people who had had it for a quarter of a century and a generation, dodged the question by saying that it was a race question. But this legislation is far more reaching than a mere race question.

During the existence of the American party, whose motive was the prevention of our foreign-born citizens from voting and holding office, many of these states were carried by the party, and in all of them it was very strong.

These constitutional amendments under which the inspectors of election can disfranchise a negro, can be used with equal efficiency against the foreign-born citizens if the inspectors so choose. In broad terms the constitutional amendments in the Southern States for disfranchising the negro voter provide that the board of inspectors in each election district, appointed, as they are, by Democratic officials, shall be the judges of

the qualifications of a voter; that they must be satisfied that he can read and write, and that he can read intelligently the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of his state. If, however, he or his ancestor had the right to vote in 1867—that is prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendments freeing the slaves and giving them civil rights, and state laws granting suffrage to the negroes—then he can vote, though he may not be able to either read or write.

Now for the practical application. Suppose there is a German, Irishman, Scandinavian or Italian who has been attracted to the South by its great opportunities for industrial development. He is intelligent, and he sees that under conditions as they exist with McKinley's administration the wonderful development of iron and cotton industries of the South must continue. He, therefore, wants to vote for, and proclaims he is going to vote for, McKinley, the gold standard, the protection of American industries and the new markets for the products of the South, in which he has invested either his capital or his labor and certainly has invested the future and the prospects of his sons. He goes to the polls with a negro graduate of Yale or Harvard and a Carolina cracker. The inspectors say first to the negro, "Can you read and write?" "Yes." "Can you interpret understandingly that clause of the Constitution of the United States?" "Yes." The negro reads. The inspectors declare that it is not an intelligent interpretation and they say, "You cannot vote." Then comes the foreign citizen who has expressed his views and is proud of them. The inspectors say, "Can you read and write?" "Yes." "Can you explain understandingly this clause of the Constitution of the United States?" "Yes." He gives an explanation which is far clearer than any of the inspectors could give, but they declare that it is not satisfactory, and he is disfranchised. Then comes the Carolina cracker. They say to him, "Can you read?" "No." "Can you write?" "No." "Do you know any of the

provisions of the Constitution of the United States?" "No." "Did you vote in 1867?" "No, but my grandfather did." "All right; deposit your ballot; you are a citizen."

Every man and every woman whose income is dependent upon active business or employment should, in the interest of himself or herself or the family, carefully ponder this situation. I believe Mr. Bryan to be honest in his convictions and to have the courage of them, and that, if President, he will carry them, as far as he has the power, into official action and legislative sanction.

He says that as soon as he is inaugurated he will call a special session of Congress; that he will present to that body a message stating that the people have ratified by his election the planks of the Kansas City platform, and demanding that they be immediately enacted into laws; he will say that prior to the enactment of those laws, as far as the executive has the power, he will act upon these popular instructions. He proposes that they repeal the gold standard bill and authorize the opening of the mints to the silver mine owners for the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one. That is to say, that while now, all over the world, it takes thirty-four pounds of silver to buy one pound of gold, as far as it can be done by the sanction of the government, he will stamp that silver so that sixteen pounds of silver can buy one pound of gold. Of course, the operation of this would be at once to drive all of the gold out of the country and to place the United States on a silver basis. He will say that he will pay all government obligations, which can be so done, in silver. He will declare his purpose to give to the Filipinos, that is, to the Tagal Tribe, the Philippine Islands and withdraw our troops and lower our flag and then ask authority to extend the Monroe doctrine across the Pacific and use the Army and Navy to prevent the Viscayans and the Moros and the Macabees, who may be oppressed by the Tagals, from seeking help from murder and loot

by the Tagals by appealing to Great Britain, Russia, Germany or France. He will advise the repeal of the Dingley tariff law and the enactment of a measure for revenue only.

There is not an American, who will calmly and without partisan prejudices study that programme, who will not see that whatever may be the ultimate result of the policy years hence, by its immediate effect every industry in the country would stop. The merchant would not buy, the manufacturer would not manufacture, the raw material man would have no market and the farmer would again find there was no purchasing power, because labor would have no employment. All the nations of Europe are producing far more than their people can consume of manufactured articles. The same is now true of the United States. European governments are increasing their armies and navies to secure spheres of influence and greater markets in Asia and Africa to prevent congestion at home. By the victories of our armies and navies in the Spanish war—Santiago, San Juan Hill and Manila Bay—the United States, almost in a day, secured vast markets in the islands of the seas, was placed in a position to make the Pacific Ocean practically an American lake, and by the possession of Manila and its harbor at the door of the Orient, gained a depot and warehouse for our products and a port for our navy. The quick apprehension of our power by European nations and the effect of our favor or our enmity in the delicate adjustment of the balance of power between them, have led to all of them responding with unanimity and cordiality to the request of President McKinley and his Secretary of State, John Hay, for the open door for our products, on equal terms, to all the East.

With the election of McKinley and of Roosevelt all that we have won by the energy, industry and inventive skill of our people is secure. The highways of commerce to the Eastern continents and islands where two-thirds of the people of the earth on the other side of it

from us can become our customers, will be kept open. Our country may grow in population and expand limitlessly in productive power, but our children and our children's children will be safe in American opportunities for a living and for rising under American conditions to political distinction and business success.

In the place of a dreamer and a theorist, an orator, elevated by the glowing pictures of his own imagination above the practical things of earth to the pursuit of stars, we can secure for another term an American citizen who has always been in full accord in war and peace with the best instincts of the American people, a President who, as commander-in-chief, organized and prosecuted, with marvelous skill and energy, a war with one of the old nations of Europe, a diplomatist who has won concessions from the cabinets of Europe, of greater benefit to our country than any other diplomatic triumph since the treaty of Jay, a chief magistrate who has pacified Cuba, given law and order to Hawaii, justice and resurrection to Porto Rico and an American government and the bill of rights of the Constitution of the United States to the people of the Philippines.

The election of McKinley and Roosevelt will be for the best interest of every man, woman and child in the country. With them we shall continue to have what we want. Therefore, let us make sure of it by electing them.





## At a Reception to the Republican Editorial Association at the Republican Club of the City of New York, October 11, 1900.

GENTLEMEN :

It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Republican Club, to welcome to our House the Republican Editorial Association of the State of New York.

This club is in full harmony with the principles you advocate and the work you do. None of the laborers who are striving to reap a Republican harvest would be more gladly received than you are by this organization. My own relations with you have been most cordial for more than a quarter of a century.

Great as was the gratification of receiving the election to the United States Senate by the unanimous choice of the Republicans in the Legislature, the recollection which I most value is the fact that before the canvass had been started every Republican newspaper in the state advocated my nomination and election. Your Association made me its first and its only candidate, and I take this opportunity to express to you my profound acknowledgement for the compliment.

The Republican press of the country has never done such efficient service as in this campaign. It has had a brilliant opportunity and has seized it with wonderful ability and wisdom. On our own side it has presented the principles on which the Republicans rely for success. It has demonstrated that the working out of those principles has resulted in the phenomenal prosperity which the country now enjoys. But its greatest and most successful efforts have been in bringing its batteries to bear for the dislodgement of the enemy from the positions which he

occupies. It has shelled our opponents from nearly every one of their intrenchments. It has caused them to abandon Fort Imperialism, Fort Militarism, Fort Free Silver, Fort Free Trade, and left only here and there a straggler in Fort Trust.

The shifting and shiftY conditions of the Bryanistic canvass are best illustrated by the daily speeches of the candidate. He no longer discusses any of the issues presented either in his own platform or in ours. He has got far away from the Kansas City declarations and fears to tackle those of the Philadelphia convention. I have been, during the last few days, in the neighborhood where his speeches are delivered and where the full reports are made, which we fail to get in New York. They are devoted entirely to inflammatory appeals to the passions of the people. They are wild efforts to array the different sections of the community against each other in venomous hostility. They proclaim a revolutionary program by presenting employer and employees as natural enemies and every man who is unemployed as the enemy of the man who has work, and those who have little, as the enemies of those whom they suppose have more. The doctrines which he now preaches day by day carried to their radical conclusions would disorganize society, disrupt industries, and lead to the overturning of all present conditions in the hope or expectation of building a new social order upon better ones. The difficulty with Mr. Bryan's program of destruction is that he presents no plan for re-construction, no way in which harmonious relations can be brought about and peace prevail in our communities after the battle is over and the dead are buried. He presents no plan by which the conditions of any portion of our fellow citizens can be bettered; no plan by which business can be improved; no plan by which employment can be enlarged or wages advanced. He simply assails all present conditions as bad and says that after the flurry is over, if his views should succeed, there will come an adjust-

ment. He fails, however, to tell us what form that adjustment will take.

I have been on the platform and traveled extensively over the country in every presidential election during the past forty years. This experience gives a trained sense of the trend of public opinion. The canvass made by the several local committees of the two parties has its value, but I rely more, in forming an opinion as to results upon the currents of opinion as I have learned by experience to recognize them. It was as plain to me in 1892 that we were to be defeated as it is now that we are to be successful. Three weeks ago was the ebb of the tide of Republican success. There was a singular apathy and indifference everywhere; also that combination of oppositions which always exists after four years when a president is re-nominated. The flood set, or, rather, began to move rapidly about ten days ago and is now rising with phenomenal speed and volume. By an apparently common impulse all over the country, in all occupations and industries, the acute question came home to men and women alike "What are we to gain by turning McKinley out and putting Bryan in?" The more the man who has a good business and the man who has a good job, and a permanent one, revolved this question, and the more it was discussed in the home circle, the greater appeared the peril of the success of the Bryanistic democracy. Every one saw that neither business nor employment nor wages would be any better with the election of Mr. Bryan. They saw that he, even, did not promise or hold out any hope that the present conditions would be improved. They saw that if he called an extra session of Congress and attempted to put in practise his program of free silver, free trade and the abandonment of the Phillipines, distrust would seriously affect, if not paralyze, all business, and that no one could foretell how long this paralysis would last.

I have met hundreds of democrats who have said,

"We hope the Democratic party, if defeated in this canvass, will re-organize upon a basis where we will not have to contemplate the almost certainty of serious disaster to our business and our employment if it succeeds." The trend, therefore, of opinion to-day everywhere is that we are safe and secure in the present conditions and we have a prospect of their being better if McKinley's term is extended for another four years. We have no certainty of either if Mr. Bryan is elected, and therefore we will not take that chance.

The humor of the campaign sometimes presents in a nut-shell a pregnant argument. I heard some commercial travellers on the train discussing the situation. All but one said that they found the orders which they secured had a string tied to them, that string meaning that the order was to be cancelled if Mr. Bryan was elected, as the purchaser did not care to risk the purchase until he found out how that election was to affect business and the demand for goods. One man said he had sold a large order of carriages, another of steel machinery, another electrical appliances, another manufactured goods, but with this discouraging condition. One man then spoke up and said: "Well, gentlemen, I am happy to say that my experience differs from yours. I never before in my experience have sold so many goods, and there is no string to the sale." The question instantly was asked, "What do you sell?" He said, "tomb-stones. My customers say that if the predicted hard times come with Mr. Bryan's election, they want at least to be sure of having in the family a reputable, reverential and lovingly permanent tribute to the departed, so these tomb-stones are laid away and every expense that could be put upon them in the way of names, birth, scriptural text and recital of virtues is inscribed. The only vacant place is the date."

It is both important and fortunate that thus, a few weeks before election this influential body which so intelligently expresses and so ably advises public opinion, should meet for consultation. When journalists

gather together they always have a good time and give enjoyment to those who are fortunate enough to be their guests. I am sure that your present visit to New York will be no exception to this experience, and the Republican Club hopes that to the full extent of your time you will enjoy and utilize its hospitality.



## At the Chamber of Commerce Dinner, New York, November 20, 1900.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

It is fortunate that the Chamber of Commerce of New York holds its annual meeting after election. If it came in the heat of the campaign the speakers would find that philosophy and fact would be alike disturbed by the political passions of the hour. The plainest truths would seem to have to many minds a hidden meaning intended to influence the results. As an illustration even the rivalries of the naval heroes of the Spanish war became subject to political acrimony. While endeavoring, by one means and another, to quiet the rioters, who were breaking up a meeting, which I was addressing a few weeks since at Cobleskill, finding argument, story and appeal of no avail, I tried ridicule, saying that they were endeavoring to suppress free speech in their senseless yelling with the weapon with which Sampson slew the Philistines. Instantly a fine specimen of the Schoharie antediluvian saw his opportunity and shouted indignantly. "That is another campaign lie; it was not Sampson that licked the Philistines, it was Dewey."

This venerable organization has been in existence a hundred and thirty-two years. One hundred and eleven years have passed from the inauguration of George Washington down to the present time. It has fearlessly and wisely spoken, not only for New York, but for the country, upon all public questions affecting the commercial and financial interests of the United States. Its task has been a difficult one because in a new and rapidly developing country theories become apparent principles and crazes assume the garb

of reform. In times of high speculative excitement the theorist has his opportunity, and in times of great depression there is frantic search for a remedy. So, false ideas of finance, which have been threshed out in Old World communities and abandoned, hold the field longer and are more easily promulgated with us.

We have witnessed in this one hundred and eleven years of nationality many defeats of dangerous doctrines, but never until now the death and burial of any. The lifeblood of a nation and of its commerce are its currency and standards of value. The controversy began with the vain effort, in the historic consultation of Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, to establish a fixed ratio upon which gold and silver could be equally used and be interchangeable in the trade of the country and in our commerce with the world. As gold became more and more the standard of commercial nations and of the exchanges around the earth and silver fluctuated as a commodity so that the value of the metal and the minted dollar were perpetually divorced, we were subject to a succession of panics and industrial disasters. The losses to our business, our enterprises, our progress, our capital and our labor by these convulsions have been greater by far than all the wars of our history.

As late as 1896 6,500,000 American citizens voted for the opening of the mints of the United States to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one as against 7,100,000 who voted for a stable standard and a redeemable currency. Honesty and prosperity won by the narrow margin of 600,000 votes in this vast total of nearly 14,000,000 of votes. It was fortunate for the country and for the world that the almost equal strength of the forces which stood for sound finance and those which would plunge into the abyss of wild speculation was so evenly balanced. It called the attention of the electorate, as nothing else could, to this basic question of natural prosperity.

We witness at this meeting of the Chamber of Com-



merce of New York for the first time in its history the death and the burial of the currency craze. It is one of the remarkable phenomena of the controversy that there are no mourners for the dead. The south, which stood solidly behind the free silver idea in 1896 and honestly believed in it has, now that the election is over, not a single public man, nor a single organ of public opinion that does not repudiate forever the doctrine. The same is true of the west, of the Pacific Coast and of all parts of our country, except here and there, mining communities, whose voting population is not a thousandth part of the people of the land. Fiat money was a fetich, the greenback excitement was a fetich, free silver at the ratio of sixteen to one was a fetich, the abortive effort, by the coining of a limitless mass of silver into irredeemable currency, to force a debased standard upon the country was a fetich, and a fetich is superstition. A happy, a redeemed, a prosperous, a united and hopeful people stand to-day upon the grave of that superstition and fetich and sing hallelulahs to the truth.

But there is another grave, also decorated not with the wreaths of mourning, but the flowers of gladness, another fetich, labeled and cased among the curiosities of the museums. Some of the best men and ablest minds in our land became hopelessly confused between legitimate expansion and militant imperialism. It never occurred to anyone that it was wrong to acquire and hold Porto Rico, though it was crime to hold the Philippines by the same conveyance. In the passions of political contests it was impossible for us to take a horizontal view of this question. It is very simple. The Philippine Islands had been under the undisputed sovereignty of Spain for three hundred years. There had been revolts among a few of the most prosperous tribes at different periods, always promoted by the Spanish officials for the purpose of plunder, and always ended whenever the Spanish government chose to end them. These islands became the

property of the United States by a treaty which cannot be abrogated, and territorial title and sovereignty which cannot be abdicated.

The hot contention of the canvass was that the United States was seeking to subdue an independent people by military force. The real fact is, that a subject people had been transferred, with their territory, from the sovereignty of Spain to the sovereignty of the United States. The only possible question which can be raised, is whether it is better for any people, for their liberty and happiness, for the development and growth of their country, to be under the institutions and government of Spain or under the institutions, the liberty, the opportunity and the government of the United States. It is settled beyond dispute that the Philippine Islands are to remain under the sovereignty of the United States. I do not deny that this imposes upon us a great responsibility, nor do I doubt for one instant that American genius for assimilation, by which fourteen millions of immigrants have become an indistinguishable part of our body politic and a patriotic and contributing whole to our country's growth and glory, will be equal to the task of giving happiness, peace and prosperity to the Philippines.

More than any other state New York is interested in commercial expansion. To have and to hold property rightfully acquired is the foundation of civilization, law and order. The right to be protected by the state in the home, the farm, the implements of labor, the agencies of industries and the goods of trade, is the broad distinction between liberty and tyranny, between law-abiding and growing communities and the different stages of anarchy. To have and to hold have never been the privileges of the Philippine Islanders until now. Once understood, those elements of every community whose intelligence, energy, enterprise and industry dominate it, will stand for the government, the liberty and the opportunity which

make them free and independent. In a few years the marvelous riches of the fields, forests and mines of these tropical possessions will be developed, and the ever increasing wants of advancing civilization will enlarge the markets and increase the commerce of the United States.

While riding recently in the cars a man took the other half of the seat and said, "Senator, don't you remember my riding with you on the Hudson River Railroad in 1870?" It was just before election and I promptly answered that I did. He said, "Do you remember that I told you then I had just shipped to Europe several thousand barrels of apples.?" "Yes," I replied, "and I have been anxiously wondering ever since what became of that venture." "Well," he said, "I lost my apples." That was thirty years ago. It was the experience of every venture in every department of manufacture in export from the United States. Our commerce was wholly cotton and grain, now American apples grace the tables of royalty at Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral, American cranberries add a new pleasure to life to the jaded appetite of the old world with fowl and bird. Now the skill of the American artizan, the genius of the American inventor, the freedom from traditions which bound to obsolete methods or old machinery the manufacturer, the daring which can sacrifice the machinery bought yesterday for the improvements discovered to-day, have made us a potent and most feared factor in every market of the world.

The dawn of the new century is for America the opening of a new era of industrial enterprise. The nineteenth century saw the development of our resources; the twentieth century presents the problem of finding remunerative employment and business opportunities for the ever increasing numbers of young men who are each year crowding into the industrial army. We will find it in the superiority of our goods, in the enterprise of our merchants, in the wise statesmanship of Seward which ran our Pacific Coast boundary from

the Mexican line to the Arctic Circle, in the providences of war which have dotted with coaling-stations the Pacific Ocean to our empire at the door of the Orient, and will make the Pacific an American lake; in the providence which has given us Porto Rico, which will make Cuba ask for an entrance into our Union and enable us to dominate the Gulf of Mexico, the Carribean Sea and the Isthmian Canal.

These are not dreams; they are the processes which have made New York City the metropolis of the continent and will make it the financial center of the world. "Ah!" says the critic, "but the Church, the leaders of the dominant party and the members of the municipal government of your City have declared publicly, and only a few days ago that the prevalence of vice and crime is greater than in any other community in the world. The President of the Board of Police, in an authorized interview, has said that the powers of the department are not sufficient to meet and control the conditions of protected vice." Vice and crime are always a unit for defense and offense; virtue is always divided into religious and political camps. But the majority of this vast population of the third city in the world is honest and right minded.. Whether they are in the cramped apartment of the tenement or the spacious halls of the avenue mansion, the men and the women are alike devoted to home and family. In spite of race prejudice in this most cosmopolitan of towns, in spite of religious differences, Christian, Hebrew or Agnostic, in spite of political antagonisms, the people who stand for order, for decency, for the family and the home, will find a way to unite, will find a pathway of reform, will purify and will re-the city of our homes, and as such we will make it and deem this great metropolis. It is the city of our pride, keep it the city of our pride and the city of our homes.

Lord Rosebery, the most brilliant and versatile of British statesmen, drew in a recent address a fascinating picture of what might have been if conciliatory

policies had prevailed in the reign of George the Third, the American Colonies admitted to an equal share in the privileges of the British realm, the American continent, by its growth, becoming the dominant partner, and the sovereign, the throne and the government transferred to New York. The throne, the nobility, class and privilege could never, under any conditions, have lived upon American soil. But the dream of the English statesman is rapidly becoming reality. In the middle ages the sovereign was king and lord of all; then cotton became king; then corn became king; then coal became king. But in the inter-communication of the world by steam and electricity, and in the competition of all highly civilized countries for the markets of the earth, commerce is lord and king. I stood in Lombard Street in front of the Bank of England, when the newsboys, running through the streets, shouted that the British war loan had been taken in New York. It was the first realization of the dream of Lord Rosebery.

The balance of trade grows in our favor, and every day a million and a half of dollars flow into every channel of American industry to pay for the products of the farm and the factory sold to Europe in excess of our purchases from her. Every nation of the Old World is knocking at the doors of New York to take its bonds and loan it the money for the exigencies of government.

The king of this world no longer sits in robes of ermine, with crown and sceptre, upon a lofty throne surrounded by courtiers. The sovereign is the producer who commands the markets. The railways and steamships of the earth are to be in the twentieth century, not the carriers of its armies and its navies, but the harvesters and the handlers of the wealth of its farms, its factories and its mines. In this commercial rivalry the United States will lead and the agent of this vast democracy of production and exchange will be the imperial city of New York.



At the Annual Banquet of the Republican Club  
of the City of New York, February 12,  
1901, in Celebration of Lincoln's  
Birthday.

GENTLEMEN :

"Abraham Lincoln is the only President of the United States, who enjoyed a universal reputation as a story teller. During his presidency this tendency was so marked and the belief in his constant practice of story telling so great that almost every anecdote, wherever originated, was fastened upon him. It was not necessary to ascribe to him stories which were the imaginations of others. He had an endless stock of stories and told them with wonderfully dramatic effect. He said to me once that he had accumulated these anecdotes while traveling the circuit as a practicing lawyer in the West; that after the court adjourned, the judge, the jury, the lawyers, the clients and witnesses would sit most of the night around the crackling fire in the hotel narrating humorous and remarkable incidents connected with the life of a strong and original people, who had moved from their old homes to a new country and become its first settlers.

The adventures of pioneer life gave no end to the variations of human experience. He said also that he had found that plain people were more influenced by a humorous illustration than in any other way, and that he won both cases and audiences by enforcing his logic and indelibly fixing it upon the mind and memory with a pat anecdote. These stories do not survive because they were too broad. While the story by itself would seem in the narrative vulgar, yet, as he told it, it was remembered in connection with the point which he

desired to make and which drove it home or clinched it so that there was no escape from his reasoning.

In that way the anecdote seemed in his handling to be relieved from its meretricious characteristics. Now the peculiarity of the universal celebrations of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln is that they are the most serious of any of the tributes which are annually offered to the statesmen and heroes whose natal days have become annual festivals. On the birthday celebrations of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Grant there is much of the light touch and the sprightly story which give life to after dinner oratory. But when we gather for the purpose of doing honor to the immortal Lincoln, the only well-known humorist and story-teller of them all, pathos is the ruling sentiment of the hour.

It is due to the fact that Lincoln is nearer to the hearts of the people than any of the great worthies of the past. Though a generation has come upon the stage who knew him not, and the majority of people of the United States have little or no recollection of the great events in which he figured and lost his life, yet there is a continuing interest which makes him part of every household in the land and a member of every family. His figure looms up through its homely and ungainly strength as pre-eminently the man of the people, the man who from humbler beginnings and more unpromising youth than any others who have attained great distinction, fought successfully the fight for the preservation of the Union, emancipated a race from the bonds of slavery and placed the Republic upon foundations so secure as to be perpetual, at the same time that he carried on the greatest war of modern times with the saddest of hearts, with tears for the loss of life and the sufferings which were occasioned, and died a martyr's death for the cause which had triumphed by his genius.

Lincoln was not a humorist nor a wit. He said to me: "I never invented a story, but I tell, I think, tolerably well other people's stories." As the years go by



feel that this characteristic which keeps him human, while all our other heroes become inhuman by indiscriminate eulogy, may be forgotten. As we look over the records of history the men who possessed the creative genius to strike out of the unknown, principles and institutions, can be numbered upon the fingers of one hand. The question arises whether the five men—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Grant and Lincoln—whose birthdays the American people celebrate, belong, any of them, to this class. I know the statement will arouse controversy, and hope that it will, because in controversy and discussion we reach the truth. None of these men belongs to the order of creative genius. Of them all Lincoln came the nearest.

The two minds and marvelous intelligences to which we owe the foundation and superstructure of our institutions and of our national life as they exist to-day were Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall. Jefferson achieved immortal fame by the condensation of the principles of liberty in undying expressions in the Declaration of Independence. But his whole theory of government was opposed to that majestic concentration of national power which makes the Republic of the United States the strongest and mightiest nation in the world.

To the teachings of Hamilton we owe that part of the constitution of the United States which binds states together in indissoluble union. In the interpretation of that instrument John Marshall, as Chief Justice of the United States, in his thirty-five years tenure of his great office, breathed into it the breath of national life, of the indissoluble unity of the States, of the resistless power of the federal government, and of the expansive, elastic and adaptable principles of the constitution to every condition of national necessity, national growth and national greatness which have made us the United States of the beginning of the twentieth century.

In 1801 began the great battle between the forces of

federal power and State rights. Jefferson had become President of the United States, and had with him in his ideas the great majority of the American people. Marshall had become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and had before him that tremendous task which, with indomitable courage, inflexible will and the genius of the greatest lawyer we ever had, worked out successfully the problem of national life. It is a singular fact that, commencing with Jefferson and ending with Buchanan, all but two of the Presidents of the United States were firm believers in the doctrine of State rights and limited powers in the general government; believers in the right of the State to retire from a confederacy which was only a compact between sovereign powers, and the other two were not fully up to the foundation which Hamilton laid and the structure which John Marshall builded.

The contest over slavery was the political education of Abraham Lincoln. Marshall had been succeeded by Taney, and the bulwark of slavery was in the Supreme Court of the United States. This Western lawyer of profound moral convictions, boundless human sympathies, tender conscience and great intellect threw himself into the conflict with his whole soul. He discovered that to meet and impress his countrymen he must go to the decisions of that court which most threatened liberty and union. So, he became a disciple of the great Chief Justice. He became imbued with his spirit and master of the principles which he had put into the decisions of the court. He became, in the presidential chair, the executor of the rulings and of the ideas of John Marshall. He found in the teachings of that jurist the strength for his declaration that the country could not endure half slave and half free; that one or the other would triumph and the Union be preserved.

He found in the national spirit elastic powers and boundless adaptability which Marshall had given to our charter; the authority to bring a million soldiers

into the field; to send Sherman to march across the boundaries of sovereign States from Atlanta to the sea; to place the boundless resources of the nation behind Grant for the battles of the Wilderness; to appoint provisional governments for the conquered States until the national authority and the national flag were fully recognized and accepted, and last, and greatest of all, he found by these teachings authority, which had been denied by all his predecessors, in saving the government, in perpetuating the nation, in demonstrating federal supremacy, to not only raise armies and navies, not only issue currency, contract debts and expand credits, but by a single act of executive authority strike the bonds from four millions of slaves and end an institution which had been from the existence of the government a standing menace to its life.

The battle between the two great Virginians, Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall, was fought to the finish on the side of Marshall and the nation by Abraham Lincoln. The Republic often threatened, and many times near destruction, entered upon a new and boundless career of liberty, prosperity and greatness by the triumph, through Lincoln, of the constitution which had been created by the decisions of John Marshall.

There has never been such a fitting hour for the celebration of the greatness and the achievements of the martyr President as on the centennial of the appointment of this greatest Chief Justice at the head of the grandest court which was ever devised for the preservation and expansion of the institutions of a country. We, the disciples and followers of Lincoln; we, who have his faith and his principles, meeting to-night all over the country at the beginning of this new century, can rejoice in the triumph of the principles of nationality and federal power; but we can also thank God and take courage for the solution of the problems that are before us and the graver responsibilities which have devolved upon us; that in dealing with Cuba, with Porto Rico, with Hawaii and the Philippines; that in

extending the advantages of our institutions and increasing our national power and opportunities for our people, we have had for four years and during a critical period, and have now, in the presidential chair a disciple of the principles of John Marshall and of the party of Lincoln an equally great statesman, who is thoroughly imbued with the ideas which have made our country great and strong and prosperous. The American people have given their best tribute to the memory of Abraham Lincoln by granting a second term with unprecedented unanimity to William McKinley.

**At the Dinner given to Governor Benjamin B.  
Odell, Jr., by the Lotos Club, March 23, 1901**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I am impressed with the unity of our country, its great distances and their easy annihilation by my experience of to-day. At noon I was urging upon the President, at the White House, the necessity of securing the success of his administration by appointing the proper man to an important office. [Laughter.] The patriot was waiting in the ante-room burning with anxiety to serve his country. To-morrow morning will reveal whether Mr. Roosevelt has appreciated the importance of my suggestions. [Laughter.] I threw over a dinner in Washington where I was to meet some of the most charming ladies of the Capital to be here to join in this demonstration in honor of our Governor and to meet the most charming men in New York. [Laughter and a voice, "another jolly."]

The Governor's admirable speech to-night is an illustration of his ability to do whatever he sets out to accomplish. He had avoided the field of after-dinner oratory until his election a few months since. I remember when he began he limited his effort to a minute and a half and regretted the minute. [Laughter.] Now he speaks with the ease and grace of the practiced artist, and fascinates his audience by a clear expression of his opinions and purposes which conceals nothing and reveals nothing. [Laughter.]

I was brought up on Governors. I formed the habit early. Forty years ago, when a youth, I was elected Secretary of State. The first half of my term Horatio Seymour was Governor and the last half Reuben E. Fenton. With this Albany residence and association I have known intimately all our Governors since 1860. I cannot recall them all. [Laughter.]

A Mr. Wickham for many years enjoyed the distinction of being the oldest graduate of Yale, and was received with all the honors at our Alumni dinners at New Haven. When he was ninety-seven, his nephew, at that time Mayor of New York, gave him a reception, and among the guests was a distinguished gentleman past sixty to whom the old man said, "My dear boy, I know all about you; your mother was one of the bridesmaids at my wedding; not to my present wife, but my second wife. That was a long time ago, that wife was a fine woman, and her maiden name was—well I have forgotten. [Laughter.]

I have known more than a thousand citizens who wanted to be Governor, many of whom I helped. [Laughter.] The only man who ever tried to run away from it, and whom the people would not allow to, is Ben. Odell. [Loud applause.]

I was on my way on the train to our State Convention at Saratoga many years ago. The nominee had been generally agreed upon. To my surprise the late John Russell Young brought me a peremptory message from Horace Greeley that the nomination belonged to him and I must present his name to the Convention. Mr. Greeley lived in my Assembly District and was my friend. I sent word to him there was no chance, but the answer was "try." I jumped on the slate with both feet and it bent and cracked a little; the air of the Convention was black with hats and rang with shouts and cheers for old Horace, but when the vote was taken the machine won. Though he was crazy for the office, this was his contradictory and philosophical way of taking his defeat. He said to me when I next met him: "The man who wishes to be Governor is a damned fool. No one can recall the last ten of them." But he had a pain in his heart just the same.

Well, my friends, we have a Governor every two years in our State, and it may be that the task of recalling the last ten would be too hard for any of us. I venture to predict that five hundred years from now when the country will have produced an average of twenty Presidents in a century, there will be but one President remembered in

each cycle and all the rest will be forgotten. One President whose genius meets the crisis of the century will represent it. So with Governors. A few will stand out in the history of the State and in the memory of its people whose wisdom and courage have given the best government.

If I may indulge in further Gubernatorial reminiscences, I will speak of Governor Seymour. He was an elegant and accomplished gentleman, with a high-bred manner which never unbent, and he was always faultlessly dressed. He looked the ideal of an aristocrat, and yet he was and continued to be until his death the idol of the Democracy. I was a looker-on at the Democratic Convention at Albany assembled to nominate his successor who had already been selected by Dean Richmond, the party leader. One of those smooth and plausible gentlemen who resemble in their ways Bret Harte's Chinese hero, Ah Sin, arose and blandly remarked, "It is well understood, Mr. Chairman, that Governor Seymour will, under no circumstances, accept a renomination. His personal affairs, long neglected in the public service, make it impossible, and we have no right to urge him. But I express the opinion of the entire Democracy of the State that we should, with acclamation, extend to him the compliment." The delegates, most of them in their shirt sleeves, yelled their approval, and then waited for the Governor and the declination before proceeding to business. In about twenty minutes the Governor, never so handsome, never so perfectly tailored and barbered, never so lofty and serene, appeared upon the platform, acknowledged the honor, dwelt eloquently upon the principles and issues of the hour in language far above his audience, and then accepted the nomination.

That crowd saw how beautifully they were done, and worshipped him, while Dean Richmond's language was never printed. [Laughter and applause.]

Vallandigham came to Albany to make a speech during Seymour's term. His secession sympathies made him a dangerous friend for an ambitious man. The local com-

mittee insisted that the Governor should speak. State Senator Charles Cook, one of the most level-headed of men, a Republican, but a friend of Seymour's, said to him, "Governor, I suppose you must speak, though you had better not, but speak late and without notes. When later your utterances to-night become troublesome, you can deny the accuracy of the report, and your version will be accepted; but a written speech, such as the present case calls for, will defeat you for President," and it did.

Governor Tilden often took me into his confidence. He knew it was safe and he sought candid opinions from the opposition. He asked me to be present when a powerful politician and Democratic Mayor was demanding the discharge of the New York Central freight agent in his city, because this officer, an active worker in the party, had carried the caucuses and district conventions and defeated the Mayor and his friends for delegates to the national convention. The Governor was all attention and sympathy, and promised the Mayor he would attend to the case at once. When the indignant gentleman retired, the Governor said to me, "Do you know this agent?" I said, "Yes; he is a very good man." The Governor replied, "I formed the same impression when I sent for him last week and he spent the evening with me, and he did his work remarkably well." [Laughter.]

We don't do that sort of thing in these days. [Laughter.] There has always been friction between the party power and the Governor. It is characteristic of the situation and cannot be avoided. [Laughter.] It began with the first Governor of our State, that hard-headed old Hudson River man, George Clinton. He quarrelled with Washington, and it took all the talent and diplomacy of Alexander Hamilton to patch up a truce. We do differently now. We have conferences, and when the conference is over, if the Governor is a hard-headed Hudson River man, he has his own way. [Laughter and applause.]

We have forty-five States in the American Union and each one has a Governor. But the newspapers of all our



commonwealths never discuss the actions or opinions of any Governor outside their boundaries except the Governor of New York. I see at Washington the papers from all over the United States. Outside of their local affairs and the President, their dispatches and comments are about Governor Odell. They appreciate the present power and great political possibilities that are in this level-headed Hudson River man. [Applause and laughter.]

In Washington the other evening, among a party, all of whom were distinguished in some department of the public service, the question arose, "What is Fame?" It has been often asked in all ages, but definitions do not agree. I believe fame comes to him who is not looking for the verdict of posterity. The cosmic dust which will materialize into the entities of the future will create a generation of different opinions, environments, necessities and ideals from ours. The posterity *poseur* is playing to an audience he cannot know and which cares nothing for him.

But the self-centered, virile man who lives, acts and thinks in the present, and does his best according to his lights in the work of to-day, with little thought of yesterday, or to-morrow, and gives his whole mind and strength to making better what comes his way to do, will be a power for progress and light in his time, and if the field is large enough, will win that consideration from the future which is fame. [Applause.] Governor Odell lives up to this idea.

One of our Governors, who was a successful man of business, but had given little attention to public affairs, said to me when I was spending the day with him at the Executive Mansion at the close of the session, "Chauncey, you do a great deal of thinking on many subjects, while I have given my time wholly to one. I wonder if it affects you as it does me. These bills are dumped in here by the Legislature by the bushel. To try and understand them makes my old headpiece swim, and stirs me up otherwise. The harder I try to think the more I feel as if I was on the ocean, in a heavy sea, and I am a

mighty poor sailor." [Laughter.] Now, in doing his duty in his great office, Governor Odell neither loses his dinner nor his head. [Laughter and applause.] He has the confidence of the State and the attention of the country. If, as we hope, that attention shall in the future, for he is a young man, materialize into a call of the great constituency for a President, it will be seconded enthusiastically by the Empire State. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

**At the Ceremonies in Connection with the  
Unveiling of the Statue Erected in Memory  
of General John A. Logan, at  
Washington, April 9, 1901.**

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:**

The history of our country is condensed in the Revolutionary and the Civil wars. The first was the creation of a nation which embodied the evolution and aspirations of the English colonists from 1620 to 1776 in the experiment of self-government. The second was the triumphant solution on the side of liberty and humanity, by the most gigantic and bloody of modern conflicts, of the problems which the founders of our Government had left for posterity. Since then there has been no restraint upon American development and no barrier to American progress. The story of the Revolution and the Rebellion will be read by future generations, not in the narration of their causes or incidents, but mainly in the lives of the master minds who participated in those struggles. We now read the Revolution in the careers and achievements of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Samuel and John Adams and their compatriots. Our marvelous material development and the pace at which we have advanced in every department of national activity since 1865 make the great civil strife seem as distant almost as the classic tales of our student days. As Washington stands out in the first of our crucial contests, so does Lincoln in the second. About Lincoln cluster Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, McPherson and a host of other heroes.

The "typical American" has long been the subject of discussion and portraiture. In caricature, in picture and upon the stage our national characteristics are represented by the "Brother Jonathan," who is sharp, keen, aggressive and fearless, but who exhibits no trait of that

culture, sensitive honor and lofty morality which mark a noble and successful people. We do not, therefore, find the "typical American" in the sketch of the artist or upon the dramatic stage. The professional or business man who has been successful in his pursuit; the one who, with the great opportunities offered in the United States and by the exercise of rare gifts, has accumulated a phenomenal fortune; or the distinguished soldier or sailor who has come from the severe training of West Point or Annapolis, is not peculiar to our country. He exists under all governments and accomplishes the same career under all institutions. American liberty and law, which grant to all equal opportunities, which neither foster nor favor, nor permit class or privilege, cultivate a kaleidoscopic activity which is possible alone with us. It develops an American who passes easily and naturally to and from private pursuits and public life, is ready and forceful upon the platform or in halls of legislation, is facile with his pen, and keen upon all questions of current interest, and with that leisure which comes only to the very busy, finds rest and recreation in travel, fraternal organizations and society. He early in life becomes a member of the military company of his town or the national guard of his state, and locks his office or leaves the shop to march with his command to the field of duty and of danger. If he survives the perils of battle and dangers of disease, he practically beats his sword into a ploughshare and his spear into a pruning hook by exchanging the uniform of the soldier for the dress of the citizen, and quietly resuming the peaceful paths of the industry he abandoned to fight for his country. The Grand Army of the Republic has upon its rolls numberless examples, living and dead, of heroes in war who were also successes in the professions or business, orators of rare merit and statesmen of unique distinction. Such a man—a typical American—is the soldier, statesman and patriot for the unveiling of whose statue, erected by a grateful country, we are here assembled.

It is a popular delusion that the fiber of American character is best wrought and exhibited in those who have been deficient in early opportunities for education; whose

struggles have been harder than their fellows' and who have passed their youth either in or upon the borders of the western wilderness. It was found in the Civil War that there was no difference in courage, dash or endurance between the men of the East, the West, the North or the South; between those who came from the fields, the forests, the mines or the factories, and those who stepped out from the pulpit, the lawyer's office, the counting house, the professor's chair or the pedagogue's seat. In that most illustrative body of American manhood, the Rough Rider regiment of the Spanish War, the dandy from the club, the student from the university and the cowboy from the plains, in the stress of battle, in the deadly charge and under the hail of bullets, found that their only differences were in dress, and that under fire and following the flag they were equal and equally good Americans.

In the crises of our fate as a nation God seems to have raised up and prepared men specially for the accomplishment of the wonderful purposes which He had in store for the Republic. But these wonderful intelligences, ready for great occasions and the accomplishment of historic deeds, are inactive and undistinguished in communities like ours until their country calls them to duty.

The Mexican War at once fired the imagination of the adventurous youth of our land. It carried young Logan, with a musket, as a private in the ranks of his company, across the Rio Grande, and he won his shoulder straps in the bloody battles under Generals Taylor and Scott. This baptism of fire opened the mind, enlarged the horizon and pointed out a larger future than ever dreamed of for himself and for his country to this enthusiastic lad.

A most difficult thing for anyone is to escape from his surroundings of neighborhood, traditions, provincialisms and family. It is a more serious task, if a born leader has discovered the errors of opinion of himself and his neighbors, to attempt to remain their leader by converting them to his new-born ideas. There was no more unpromising section of the United States in which to rear a Union man and a Federal soldier than the ancient Egypt of Illinois. It had been settled by slaveholders

and the sons of slaveholders, and its people, from blood relationship, sympathy and association, were in thorough accord with the slaveholding states from which they had come. Young Logan became their idol, and he was their representative in Congress. The nearly unanimous vote by which he was sent to Washington illustrated the closeness and confidence between himself and this constituency. He was a tower of strength for the reactionary views and purposes of the slavery leaders in Congress, but underneath the sentiment and principles of the party to which he was devoted there brightly burned a spirit of liberty.

Slavery was intolerant of opposition and discussion. Lovejoy, of Illinois, Logan's fellow-member, was one of the bravest and ablest of the anti-slavery champions.

When he rose to speak in the House of Representatives there crowded about him an enraged mob of members which not only prevented his being heard, but threatened his life. It was this incident which opened the eyes of Logan to the great truth, subsequently expressed by Lincoln, that the Union could never endure half free and half slave. He instantly stepped upon the side of liberty, and so imperiously demanded a recognition of the rights of his colleague upon the floor of the House that his turbulent associates went back to their seats, and free speech was vindicated.

When hostilities began, a weaker man than Logan would have sided with his constituents in their sympathy with the South. Had he been with them, an insurrection in southern Illinois, barring the way of the Union army to Kentucky and Tennessee, would have been a frightful blow to the success of the national cause. It was a conflict in which on the one side he would apparently lose his home and his political future to enlist in a cause which, in that hour and atmosphere, seemed well nigh hopeless, while on the other, in addition to the hardships and perils of war, would be ceaseless dangers from enemies both in front and rear.

The stirring news came to the House while in session that the battle of Bull Run was in progress. The soldier

of the Mexican War again heard the music of the national anthem, and flew to the defense of the national flag. The dramatic scene was witnessed upon the battle field of a civilian in frock coat and top silk hat, who had seized a musket from a wounded soldier, and by action and words and reckless daring was doing his best to stem the tide of defeat and turn the army back to meet the enemy. In that hour, Logan's vision clearly saw the path of duty. He hastened home to his constituents to bring them around to the Union cause and to have them enlist in the Union army. He met sullen and threatening mobs everywhere. But nothing could resist the fervor of his eloquence, the inspiration of his presence and his cry, "Follow me to the field for the old flag and the Union. It is no longer the right and wrong of slavery; it is no longer the disputed question of the extension of that institution into the territories, but it is whether you will be with me for the preservation of the Union and of this last refuge and security of liberty and humanity." Character, courage and patriotism triumphed. He led his whole people out of the darkness of Egypt into the light of the promised land. Within a few weeks he was in the field with his regiment, and other regiments followed as often as the Government called for volunteers.

Logan is the finest example of the volunteer soldier. Around the nucleus of a little army of 25,000 regulars gathered a million of volunteers who formed in an incredibly brief space of time the most magnificent and resistless body of soldiery of modern or ancient times. They demonstrated in the quickness with which the army was mobilized and disciplined, in the steadiness and endurance which it exhibited as if trained veterans and in its peaceful disbandment and return to the pursuits of peace after the close of the war, that the strength and reliance of our country rest upon its citizen soldiery. This experiment also demonstrated that while the citizen soldiers are engaged in gainful pursuits and increasing the wealth of the country, an adequate army composed of those who select a soldier's career, can protect the public property, suppress insurrection and meet immediate and exigent re-

quirements at home or abroad, and that we need have no apprehension of militarism or of Cæsarism. The regular army is but the pickets and the skirmishers of that vast host who, from the mountains and valleys, from plains and cities, from hamlets and towns, are ready to respond to the call to arms for the protection of their liberties from attacks within or the defense of their country from foreign assault.

Logan's brilliant career emphasises the necessity for a military education. In arms, as in art, in the professions and the industries, the severest training and the best education are the requisites for success in our day of terrific competition. We will not dispute Logan's claim, carried too far in his enthusiasm, of the distinction of the natural soldier; but great as were the merits and the success of our general, if his genius had been trained, broadened and strengthened by the drill and discipline of the academy, the fort and the field, he would have stood in the front rank of the commanders of great armies of modern times.

The magnanimity and generosity of this thunderbolt of war were as marked as was his courage. When Grant became impatient because General Thomas lingered at Nashville instead of moving upon the enemy, he sent Logan to supersede him. When Logan arrived at Cincinnati he learned that Thomas had started. He knew that he could reach Thomas's army before a battle, and that he had before him that greatest temptation and opportunity for a soldier—a significant and decisive victory. But he knew Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga." He knew that Thomas had made the preparations with such care that failure was impossible. He knew that the honors were due to the organizer of the prospective triumph, and he delayed plucking the laurels that were within his grasp, that they might adorn the brow of Thomas. So again in the bloody battle of Atlanta. McPherson fell at the beginning of the fight. He was the idol of the army, and one of the most brilliant, accomplished and promising officers of the war on either side. The command devolved from the West Pointer to the



volunteer. It is the testimony of Grant, Sherman, Howard and of all of his superior officers and contemporaries that in no conflict of the war were the troops more ably and skilfully handled than by Logan. Not only was he the directing genius, planning and ordering the execution of the complex details of a widely extended field, but at the critical points, upon his black charger, this ideal soldier, with his flowing raven hair and flashing eyes, the incarnation of battle, was rallying the routed troops and leading them again to attack and to victory. Sherman distrusted officers who had not been educated to arms, and so when it was the unanimous opinion of the army that Logan had won the command of the Army of the Tennessee, which was the ambition of his career, he was sent back to his corps and another was given the commission. While other officers under such circumstances frequently sulked in their tents or resigned, Logan, without a word or a murmur, assumed his old place and went on fighting until there was no opposition, but a general demand that he should lead the Army of the Tennessee.

The most gratifying tribute to himself and the best expression of the opinion of the volunteer army in regard to him was his election as the first commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the election repeated as often as he would accept the place. Long after all but the leaders of the civil strife on either side are forgotten, Logan's memory will remain green because of the beautiful memorial service which he originated and which now in every part of our re-united land sets aside one day in the year as a national holiday in order that the graves of the gallant dead, both on the Federal and the Confederate side, may be decorated with flowers. It is no longer confined to the soldiers of the Civil War, but continued to those of our latest struggle. The ceremony will exist and be actively participated in while posterity remains proud of heroic ancestors and of their achievements, and our country venerates the patriotism and the courage of those who died for its preservation or its honor.

But our typical American had only begun his kaleidoscopic career when the war closed. Like his companions in arms, he returned to civil pursuits. Illinois, seconding the voice of the people everywhere, demanded that he surrender his private affairs to the call of duty and give to the country his ripe experience in the critical measures of reconstruction and pacification. The dashing soldier became the acute parliamentarian, the vigorous debater, and the constructive statesman. The fierce passions of the Civil War and the vindictiveness of the irreconcilables made the way difficult for the legislation which has happily made our country one. In the titanic debates of the giants of those days there was no more conspicuous figure and no more absolutely unselfish legislator than Logan. His nature was so intense that he could not help being a partisan, but the kind of a partisan whom his worst enemies most highly respected. He foresaw in 1870 the necessity of that work for the Cuban people by the United States which was done in 1898. He stood for the national credit, the honest payment of the national debt and the redemption at every sacrifice of the national honor, at a period when we were rushing headlong into repudiation and fiat money. He courageously took up the problem of the negro, that most difficult of the questions which are still before us. There has been in the thirty years since he preached no suggestion better than the one which he advanced, which was, "educate, educate, educate."

This typical American who was a good lawyer, a great soldier, a constructive statesman, and a magnetic orator, gave diversion to his restless activity by labors with the pen. In the intervals of his work in Congress and responses to calls for speeches at public meetings and the drudgery of a vast correspondence he found time to prepare two large volumes, one historical and the other critical, which are of much value and merit.

Happily for the youth of our country, we are peculiarly rich in these exemplars of American liberty and opportunity. With the extension of our boundaries, our productiveness, our industrial enterprises and our educational

institutions, the old avenues are kept open and new and broader ones are builded for present and future generations.

In every community in our land the leaders of public opinion and the dwellers in the homes of prosperity have come from the ranks. Among those successful Americans in many lines, who have won and held the public eye and died mourned by all their countrymen, there will live in the future in the history of the Republic no nobler figure, in peace and in war, in the pursuits of the citizen and in work for the welfare of his fellow-citizens, than General John A. Logan.



**At the Tenth Annual Dinner Given to Senator  
Depew by the Montauk Club of Brooklyn,  
April 20, 1901, in Celebration of His  
Birthday.**

**MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:**

The one thought uppermost and most gratifying as I receive your tenth annual greeting upon my birthday and look into your youthful faces is that not one of us is growing old. Time and dates may make records, but they do not touch the vital spark. We do not grow old because we know how to live.

That you should for a decade thus gather to commemorate an event, unimportant in itself, but which serves as an excuse for an annual reunion of good fellows in the interest of goodfellowship, rebukes and refutes the fear that gross materialism will engulf us all.

Talleyrand once said to a friend, "If you do not learn to play whist you will have a miserable old age, with no occupation." The society journals say that if we do not learn to play bridge whist, if in we must drop out of, and if out of we can never get in, our best society. Both statements are exaggerations. There are other social occupations than bridge whist and the gamble. In Talleyrand's world and period, through a life of dissimulation and lying, in an atmosphere where it was honorable, if successful, to deceive and even to sell out one's party or country, by the time the man passed his meridian his rottenness had been so thoroughly discovered that he could only play solitaire or cards with as great liars and cheats as himself. But for us, happily, the infinite variety and kaleidoscopic opportunities for activities in useful, improving and enjoyable paths were never so great as in this year of grace.

The ten years during which we have met here on the

Saturday evening nearest the 23d of April, the date of my birth, have been unequalled in startling events, over the whole world; and in extraordinary discoveries and developments, by any other similar period in history. But the most extraordinary record has been made by the United States since we met here one year ago to-night. Then there was doubt of the future; there was gloom because of what might happen. Now there is not a cloud in the national, financial or industrial sky. Then those who constituted the majority of the voters in the Presidential election believed that the success of the opposition would bring on conditions of panic, distress and paralysis unequalled by any experiences of the past. The opposition believed the same thing, but justified their position on the ground that this complete revolution and ruin were necessary in order to start afresh and from the bottom upon lines where prosperity and happiness would be permanent. To the average citizen who could not control events, whose livelihood and home were dependent upon his own exertions in his business or with the labor of his head or hands, the situation was terrifying. The prophet who should have predicted that in twelve months the changes which we are experiencing to-day could have occurred, would have had a committee appointed of his person and property and a strait-jacket to provide against dangerous insanity.

Twenty-five years ago there were few railway companies whose capitalization reached fifty millions of dollars, and I think no industrial corporation existed with a capitalization of one million. Marvelous as has been the development of corporate combinations and capitalizations, it is not nearly so wonderful as the advance in public opinion in the twelve months. The possibility of the formation, in any state or under any conditions, of a company dealing with one of the great necessities of a commercial and industrial people, with \$500,000,000 of capital, would have placed a Populist in the Presidential chair and a Populist majority in both houses of Congress in 1896. The animal most frequently seen upon the pages of a large portion of the press of the United States during the canvass of 1900

and brought out upon the platform at every meeting of one party, was the octopus. It frightened millions of voters as to the dangers to themselves, with its tentacles spreading over and enveloping the country, but the octopus of the imagination of the Populist writer and speaker of October, 1900, was a lamb compared with a lion beside the real octopus of March, 1901. A billion-dollar corporation formed in October might have reversed the November verdicts. And yet such has been the march of public opinion, owing to the marvelous conditions which have come up within a few months, that the formation of a \$1,100,000,000 company frightens nobody, and is not even the subject of extended editorial comment in the pages of the "Commoner." The processes and the procession up to the present have so happily included, for their own benefit, every profession, trade and occupation, that people are looking for results instead of criticising methods or listening to predictions of disaster.

We are facing, first, the necessity for providing investments for the enormous accumulations of capital occasioned by the savings of the recent five years of panic and the tremendous balance of trade in favor of our country. Universal employment has swelled the deposits of the savings banks, abundant crops and good prices have paid off the farm mortgages and made the farmer a lender instead of a borrower. The purchasing power of the whole population has been so enormously enhanced that every business has felt it in the absorption of products, in the movement of internal commerce and in the accumulation of money. Capital, frightened at a possible permanent two or three per cent., eagerly invests in industrial enterprises which promise larger returns.

We witness in this rapid evolution a universal effort to nullify the maxim which has existed since barter was known that "competition is the life of trade." In the highly organized conditions of modern society competition has grown to be the destruction of all but one of the contestants. The pioneer in this movement of the ruin of rivals was the late A. T. Stewart, whose pathway was strewn with the wrecks of business houses de-

molished, first singly and then in blocks, as he became stronger in capital and power. The business and industrial world began recently to recognize, as the railway world had discovered years ago, that there is a point in competition which is destructive of society. It works by closing the factories and stores, the transfer and concentration of labor, the ruin of towns and individuals, and causing widespread distress among the worthy people whose means of living have been suddenly taken away. The new method, or, rather, the new experiment, is community of interests. So far it has received the approval of labor because of better wages and more regular employment. So far it has not raised prices to consumer or proved destructive to producer. Its danger is in the misuse of power. The same danger existed when merciless competition left only the survivor in the field, and it had the added terror of destruction as great as would follow an invading army and a battle. Community of interest seeks to conserve the interests of the investor and of the worker and at the same time, by concentration of management and the endless economies possible in the working together under the one competent head of the various elements which make up the final product that goes upon the market, to give the consumer a better article at a lower price.

The whole people are more powerful than any class. Law and its enforcement is the remedy for evils in a Republic, and the managers of these vast experiments will have only themselves to blame if by mismanagement they create a public opinion hostile to their continuance. Public opinion, by statute, limited until within the last few years, and limits now in most of the states, the capital of all corporations, and looked with alarm upon any increase in the range of these companies, but now, by the most rapid grasp of situations and intelligent willingness to test methods for prosperity, it has permitted the taking away of all limitations upon capitalization.

But these evolutions and revolutions have suddenly brought us to a situation where we are facing another problem, that is, gigantic fortunes. The archæologists, digging among the libraries of Asia, came across the in-



ventory of Croesus, and found that that miserable fraud of a millionaire, who has been arousing the envy of generation after generation for thousands of years, was worth only nine millions of dollars. Cæsar, with the loot of all the world, managed to get together enough at one time to pay an indebtedness to people who did not dare deny his demands, of twenty-one millions of dollars. Fifty years ago there was no man in the world worth fifty millions of dollars; there was only one man in the United States worth five millions; there were not five worth a million. A hundred thousand dollars was counted a fortune on which to retire, and five hundred thousand was thought to be the mark of a supremely rich man. To-day, in Pittsburgh, which is one of our minor cities, are seventy men worth over a million dollars apiece. When Commodore Vanderbilt died in 1876 his fortune of a hundred millions had passed the mark ever before reached, while now there are in our country several who are worth between two and four hundred millions, and a large number who have reached the hundred million limit.

As I have traveled over the country year by year on railway inspection, and in the effort to become familiar with all sections, the citizens, when I arrive at any place, show me their industries, and then take me through the street or streets in which are their finest residences and greatest evidences of wealth and luxury. In the thousands upon thousands of such homes which have been pointed out to me, with scarcely an exception, every one of them belongs to a man who started in the ranks as laborer or clerk, or as an office boy, and has made his own fortune. Every day there come to me for employment the sons and the grand-sons of millionaire fathers and grand-fathers whose fortunes have been lost in speculation or squandered in riotous living. A large number of these fortunate citizens of wealth are throwing protection around the accumulation of themselves and their class by liberality of gifts and contributions for education and benevolence unknown in any other age or country. But there is a section of the very rich who are doing more to promote socialism and anarchy by their actions than all other

agencies combined. They aim to hedge themselves about with a social exclusiveness unknown in Europe. London has been long the social center of the world. Genius, which has won distinction in art, in arms, in literature, in public life, in education, in invention, upon the lyric or dramatic stage or in journalism, finds a cordial welcome and appreciative recognition in the homes, both city and country, of the proudest of the aristocracy and the descendants of the oldest and most distinguished titles among the nobility. Their parks and picture galleries are free and open to the people, and it is this acknowledgment and welcome of the leadership of those who have won success in every department of human interest and the brotherhood of man which have kept the 19th century car of progress from running over and leveling the ancestral orders of Europe. But our millionaire exclusives bar the doors and refuse to let in upon a social equality these representatives of intelligent achievement. They seek to make all except the possessors of exaggerated incomes socially second class. The result is seen in the resentment which well-informed people are discovering to exist and to be growing among those who educate, who form and who guide public opinion and whose teachings ultimately crystallize into laws against the holding or devising of great wealth. We can never have a social life as full and rich, as valued and valuable as our prodigality of genius and culture could make distinguished or raise it above gossip, frivolity, shop and local affairs, or as that of the great capitals of the Old World, until those who have been blessed with the abundance which enables them to entertain shall recognize the power and pleasure of the salon, with its infinite variety of talent and acquirement regardless of money.

One year ago the problem of our new possessions seemed well-nigh insoluble. The anti-imperialist was predicting to a large following and to eager listeners the overthrow of our institutions and liberties. The spectre of Cæsar loomed large and fateful to many patriotic eyes when they tried to pierce the veil of the future. The late lamented colored preacher Jasper might insist to a skeptical

world that the "Sun do move." We know, in the light of this blessed day, that our world does move. The Cæsar of the imagination of the timid citizen has vanished, and the Cæsar of the political stage manager is laid away in the lumber room. The Cuban situation is daily enforcing the views held by our statesmen of all parties for seventy-five years, that this priceless possession so near our shores, with its infinite possibilities for population and power, with its possibilities of menace to or protection for our coasts, should be not only freed from European government and ownership, but should be kept in a position where European government or ownership or foothold will be impossible for all the future, and institutions established there making life, liberty and property equal in safety and opportunity to the conditions in our own country.

England has governed India for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and yet, with all her wonderful administrative ability and acquired talent for colonial empire, punitive expeditions are constantly moving and inflicting terrific punishments in killings and burnings upon the disturbed districts. Russia holds vast Asiatic possessions by the swift and merciless descent of the Cossack where her authority is denied. The story of the city in Manchuria in which during the winter the entire population was driven into the river, carries its lesson of methods of acquisition and of government. So with Germany and France in Africa there are tales of unpacified occupation. Two years ago, ten millions of people of the Philippines had never heard of America and had never seen the flag of our country. To-day there is an acceptance of American sovereignty and a condition of law, order and liberty after a year of military and less than a year of civil government, which is simply marvelous. From Aguinaldo to the humblest Tagal, they prate about liberty but know nothing of its meaning. To the Oriental, liberty is simply the choice of masters. Spaniards ruled the island through a Governor-General with unlimited power over life and property. Intelligence was treason to be punished with death or deportation. The acquisition of property led speedily

to its seizure and confiscation. The aspiration of the Filipino was to have a dictator of his own race, with the idea that then liberty would mean a modification of the methods of his assassination and a limitation upon the rapacity of the public robber. The United States succeeded to the sovereignty of the islands. It is said we are ignorant of colonial government and that we must take lessons of the older nations of the World. But we have pursued the methods prescribed by our own Constitution, institutions and traditions. We rely upon the school-house, upon civil and religious freedom and upon that measure of self-government for which populations are prepared to be expanded as they demonstrate their ability to administer their own affairs. The Filipinos find, but have not yet, with suspicions engendered by generations of oppression and spoliation, fully comprehended, that there is freedom of movement from one part of the country to the other; they find justice which cannot be bought; they find not only the right to accumulate property, but also to show their pride in their possessions and their thrift by the exhibition of their prosperity. They find that the brigand cannot levy tribute without losing his life, and that their neighbor must have the same respect for their rights which they are compelled to have for his. Already there is peace and contentment at what is practically only the beginning of the experiment greater than in other colonial examples after generations of control.

The new generation of Filipinos, the children of the fathers and mothers of to-day, who come to maturity through the American schools, while enjoying all the benefits of American institutions, will listen with wonder and horror to the tales of oppression, outrage and murder of the long, bloody and frightful past under the Spanish rule. The solvent of Filipino civilization, Filipino government, Filipino prosperity and Filipino assistance, commercially, industrially and diplomatically, to the United States is American liberty—American liberty which inspires self-respect, which enlarges independence, which develops individualism and creates manhood and womanhood. Pastor Robinson, in his farewell sermon

to the Pilgrims upon the Mayflower the night before they sailed from Delft Harbor for Plymouth Rock, said to them, "God has not revealed to any of us the whole of His Truth." Ever since the landing at Plymouth Rock, God has been revealing to the descendants of the Pilgrims and their compatriots, more and more, in each generation, of His Truth. The whole of American liberty was not revealed to Washington, for his ideal was the English government of his day without a hereditary monarchy or hereditary nobility; the whole truth of American liberty was not revealed to Daniel Webster, with all his marvelous powers and foresight, for he would have compromised with slavery; the whole truth of American liberty was not revealed to Abraham Lincoln, for whom it consisted almost solely of the union of the States; the whole truth of American liberty has never dawned upon those who have preceded us in its possibilities when, from necessity, the United States becomes a world power. Further revelations of American liberty are to be recognized in Cuba, in Porto Rico and in Hawaii. They are to be the hope and salvation of the Philippine archipelago. They are now, through our soldier representatives in the American army in China, placing us in a position with that people far in advance of the other nations whose armies are devastating the country.

American liberty is the inspiration and bulwark of faith. Faith is the foundation of religion, of government, of politics, of friendships and of longevity. We all suffer daily from things which would weaken or assail our faith if it were not impregnable. Christianity has received a tremendous blow by the action of Christian soldiers representing Christian nations in China. A friend of mine recently had a talk with Li Hung Chang. That eminent Oriental statesman in reply to the question, "How is China to pay the indemnity?" said, "Why, the Christian armies have already collected it, and being Christians, their nations would not attempt to take it twice." Wu Ting-Fang, the enlightened and educated Chinese Minister at Washington, was enabled by this experience of his countrymen with the Christian soldiers

to say that the Decalogue should be amended by adding after "Thou shalt not steal," "but thou canst loot." Nevertheless these things do not destroy our faith in Christianity, for we know that they are the results of those passions in war which Christianity has not yet eliminated and will not entirely eliminate until wars shall no longer be possible.

Every day I am appealed to to secure situations under the government for men and women. If I am successful, the recent appointee invariably tells me that if I had made sufficient exertions a better position would have been secured. A young lady was starving, when I was lucky enough to find a vacant desk for her. She wrote to me, "Senator, it is not your fault but your inexperience in public life which gave me only a sixty-dollar-a-month position when you might have secured a seventy-five-dollar one." I gave a friend a line up to which I would endorse his notes. In the absorption of my own pursuits, it ran many, many times beyond before I discovered I was likely to be ruined, then I stopped. He failed and I spent several years paying off these obligations, but he remained my enemy, charging his failure to my iniquitous stopping of his supplies. These experiences have not impaired my faith in human nature, because I find among the mass of men and women whom I meet an infinite camaraderie, sympathy and charm which make an atmosphere of human happiness. It has been said that a kiss is the microbe of alimony, and yet millions of happy American homes justify our faith that marriage is not a failure, but an eminent success.

I sat the other day beside a Western man at dinner who said, when that course came and I took some radishes, "Do you eat radishes?" I said, "Yes." "Would you mind having that plate of them removed?" "No; but, my friend, what is the matter with the radish?" "Well," said he, "Governor Flower, who was one of the most generous men who ever lived, and wanted to help everybody, gave me a point in the Flower boom by which I made a great deal of money, and then when the second Flower boom started, I went to him again and invested

on thin margins with my brokers all I had and all I had made. The Governor went fishing, ate a bunch of radishes, drank a glass of ice water, had congestion of the stomach, died suddenly, stocks went to smithereens and I busted. I never want to see a radish again." It was reckless speculation, not the radish, which ruined him. That man did not understand the true philosophy of life. It is, let the radish furnish enjoyment in the line for which radishes were created; let us find the good there is in animate and inanimate nature; above all, let us discover, cherish and enjoy the preponderance of good there is in our fellow human beings.

I have been now for two sessions in the United States Senate. That experience has reversed for me the opinions of the calibre and character of that body which popular misapprehension had formed. I find there an absence of jobbery, an unselfish devotion to the public service, a sincere and hopeful patriotism and a broad, comprehensive and statesmanlike grasp of the necessities of the country and the possibilities of its development worthy of all that has been said of what are denominated, I think untruly, the best days of the Republic. It may be taken for granted that the Senator or Member of Congress represents the intelligence and the character of the majority of the people of his state or district, and in Congress we have the epitome and the life of that faith in the power, the prestige, the expansion and the future of the American people in which we all devoutly believe.





**To the Students of the University of  
Pennsylvania on "Practical Politics,"  
May 15, 1901.**

GENTLEMEN:

The subject upon which you have requested me to address you is a difficult one.

Practical politics are largely taught by experience, observation and absorption. It is hard to lay down any rules by which the citizen may be always rightly guided in his relations to public affairs and especially his membership of political parties.

You have been studying political economy and the science of government. In a few weeks you graduate from this University and enter upon the practical duties of life. You will find during the whole of your careers a wonderful difference between theory and practice. In theory, truths move easily to their logical conclusions and problems are solved by principles, upon which the theories are based. In real life every action is so influenced by environments, so handicapped by conditions and so dependent upon local situations and one's relations to others that our lives are one long compromise.

The best thing about a liberal education and college association, is the formation of ideals. I trust there will never come a period, no matter what discouragements may beset you, when you will lose sight of your ideals, will doubt them or be discouraged of their ultimate fulfillment. It is the ideal which enables one to be always interested in the present and hopeful of the future. We live under the best form of government in the world. It is a government by the people, and therefore every citizen has an essential part in its operations. Just to the extent that you neglect your public duties as citizens, you are responsible for the bad government which you may criticise, or of which you may complain. If there were a perpetual,

vigilant public sentiment, intelligently and courageously determined to have good government, and to submit to no other, the evils now so common in municipal affairs and sometimes in state administrations would disappear.

The man of liberal education, with his trained mind, his broad views, his knowledge of history and of the development of the institutions of this country, and his ability to know where to look for material and how to use it, is always an important factor in every community. Whether he has taken for his vocation a profession or business, if he is active in local affairs, he speedily comes to the front.

To every ingenuous mind on graduation is presented the question, "Can I become useful to the community as a citizen, and by what methods can I succeed as a politician?" I use the word "politician" in its best sense of a man interested, whether in or out of office, in public affairs. Politics differ from no other pursuit in the essential elements of success. To get on in the law, or in medicine, or theology, or business, or employment, there must be industry, intelligence, concentrated attention and enthusiasm. To get on ahead of others, there must be an amount of work and a disregard of time beyond the average and beyond the acceptations of those who work with us or are superior officers in our vocations. First, must you run for office and be in the public service in order to become a politician? The greatest misfortune that can happen to a young man who has only character and education and no capital for a career is to accept office. Its rewards will be larger at the beginning than those which come from regular employment. Though conditions have improved from the adoption and enforcement of civil service, yet there is no permanency or legitimate promotion in public life. Merit does not count as everywhere else for advancement. A change of government, and years of service go for naught; experienced men are dismissed upon slight pretext and they find themselves, in middle life, unfitted to enter the race for a living, because they have not the trained ability necessary for success in any of the remunera-

tive classes of work. During the thirty years in which I have been all the while, practically, in public life, though not in office, and in close contact, by activity in public affairs, with men of note and distinction in Congress and in the departments, my saddest experiences have been to try to find some landing place for men of great ability and usefulness, whom changes of politics have thrown out at a period of their lives when nothing can be found for them to do. No money can be legitimately made in public employment, and therefore no competence can be laid up. In each of the great departments at Washington, State, Army, Navy, Treasury, Interior and Agriculture—are men who, if they had remained in private life and devoted to some selected and congenial pursuits the same qualities which they have given to the government, would be among the leaders of our professions and our industries. They are the ones upon whom the distinguished Secretary leans for the success of his administration. They often make the reputation of a Secretary who is disinclined to devote his time and energies to or is unfitted for the department of which he is the nominal head, and as such has all the honor, position and recognition which belong to Cabinet Ministers.

Salmon P. Chase, after he had won distinction and pecuniary independence at the bar, became Governor of his State, Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. While he was Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, I met him frequently. He was one of the great men and mighty minds of the Republic. I was then a young man in the twenties, had been a member of the Legislature of my State several times and was Secretary of State. He said to me at one time very earnestly, "Return to your profession, it is the only career where success is possible. If later in life you can secure the independence by which you will not have to rely upon office for a support for yourself and your family, then if your taste runs in that direction and your fellow citizens wish you to serve them, it is time to neglect your personal affairs for the public service. When I graduated I had no money, no friends

who were able to assist me and the world looked singularly dark and unpromising. I came to Washington to secure a clerkship in one of the departments. I had letters to a Cabinet Minister. He said to me, 'Young man, I can give you a clerkship, but if I do your career is closed. You think you only want it temporarily; that you will save money and then go out and get your profession at the law, but you will acquire habits, you will become more and more dependent upon your salary, you will more and more lose initiative and more and more fear to let go of the certainty which you have until your energy and ambition will be so sapped that you never can be anything else than a government employee.' If I had refused that advice I would now be, unless removed by politics, still a clerk in the Treasury Department. But I secured a small school and suffered the usual hardships of beginners, while studying law. I went through the usual early years of few clients, small pay and many privations, but finally and gradually came success, and the discipline has made me what I am."

Popular government can only be carried on by parties. You should at once become a member of that party whose principles are nearest to your own faith. Parties can only succeed by organization. Mobs never win; discipline always disperses them. Parties are the surrender by the individual of pet projects and pet purposes, to certain broad general principles which he, in common with the great mass of his party, believes are essential to good government. No matter how close the party organization, you can find a place, because it needs workers. Join at once, if you live in the country, the club or organization of your town, if you live in the city, of your district. Give time and attention to party work. You will find that you can do it without interfering with your work or your profession. A few evenings in the month, and more during the campaign, diligently and effectively employed will give you at once recognition and standing among the practical men who manage the party in every locality. You will soon become known, your advice and services required, and your influence will extend from the

district to the county and from the county to the state. There will be many things in the party organization which you dislike and many men whom you detest. You will find, however, that the leaders have gained their position both because they have the indescribable qualities of leadership and give their time and minds to politics as a business.

The gift of oratory is rare. The ability for plain speaking is common and can be cultivated to almost any extent. The number of people, however, in any community who have the courage or the practice to address their neighbors upon current questions is very small. Notwithstanding the phenomenal growth and influence of the press, the public speaker never had a larger field or the opportunity of exercising greater influence than at present. The quickest way for the young man to make himself felt in his party and by his fellow citizens is to speak at the public meetings which are so frequent. He should begin at the ward meeting in the city and in the school house in the country. He will be astonished to find how rapidly he acquires confidence in himself, and if he gives the requisite preparation to his speeches, reputation with audiences. The necessity for preparation will give him a familiarity with public questions in which everybody is interested and ability to express what his fellow citizens believe but cannot tell, a talent for formulating the principles of his organization and the merits of its candidates, which will soon command local and then more general attention. This talent for public speaking thus cultivated, will not only be useful to him as a politician, but he will find that it will enlarge his capacity and influence at the bar, and that it will give him on local matters which are not political, and in church matters, where he should be active, a position far more influential than he could acquire by years of work. The essentials of this plain speaking are the fullest information on the subject discussed and the most careful preparation, so as not to be caught by a hostile auditor in any misstatement or false proposition. With experience, discipline

and the habit which comes from thoroughness, this laborious method will not be necessary in later years, but for beginners no preparation can be too great. The speeches of successful orators should be studied for style and inspiration. The reading of a great speech by a great orator, though not on the same subject, immediately before preparing your own will unconsciously give to your thought an elevation and dignity of expression which can be had in no other way.

The great handicaps for a career in congressional or diplomatic life in our country are these: We have as yet no diplomatic service and missions and embassies are the rewards of the victors. With a change of administration the whole diplomatic corps are retired and new and often untried men take their places. This has not worked badly because of the American's adaptability to official position and the kaleidoscopic character of the education of an American public man, but it makes diplomacy impossible as a career. The young congressman can only represent the district in which he lives. Often it is composed of several counties and each two years there is a rotation. Even though his services are so conspicuous and he becomes so distinguished that the constituency is proud of him and will keep returning him to Congress, yet in the revolution which occurs in politics, a change in the political complexion of his district retires him to private life. In England, and, I think, in France, a young man who displays distinguished ability in Parliament is recognized by the party leaders and his permanence in office is secure. Should he be defeated in one constituency another, where his party is sure to elect, is found for him. If necessary, the sitting member is provided for with some other position and this valuable parliamentary supporter of the Government becomes again a member. The district position, however, has become firmly fixed in the American mind, a stranger to the district becomes that most hated political aspirant, a "carpetbagger," and I doubt if there ever will be any change in the American method of confining representatives to the constituencies among which they live. If you wish to accomplish reforms or change

conditions labor to do it within the organization. It is only when the organization becomes absolutely corrupt, and when you can take with you the intelligence and moral sense of your community that you can accomplish anything by an independent movement. I know that this view will be criticised by purists. The history of all parties and of all free governments is one of compromise. If each man could have his way there would be no party and there would be no government. "Half a loaf is better than no bread" has been, whether expressed or not, the practical policy of every successful statesman. Things can be accomplished at one period which cannot be at another, because public sentiment is not ripe. No man can succeed as a politician or as a political leader who disregards the average sense of his party and of the people. There is a great deal of sneering at the politician or statesman who keeps his ear to the ground, but if that ear is so trained and sensitive as to be able to distinguish the sound which comes from the discussions of the people in their homes, in their shops and in their public gatherings, that man will long remain a popular favorite, a political leader and a successful statesman. I remember when Mr. Gladstone staked the existence of the Liberal Party of Great Britain upon the measure of Home Rule for Ireland. I had several conversations with him, and especially with his friends, at that time. He had a perfected ideal of Irish Government. He discovered that he would have to drop the features which he regarded as very important to hold for the measure his English, Scotch and Welsh supporters. There was before him then the question whether he would advocate what he believed to be the whole truth and do his best to put into the institutions of his country what he thought essential principles and lose all, or gain a smaller advantage and secure a foothold by a compromise and surrender to the opinions of his associates. On the one hand was the possible triumph of the general principle shorn of its most beneficent features according to his idea, the continuance of his party in power for other great purposes which he believed essential to the good of the country and which could only be carried out by his

party, and on the other hand the certainty of defeat and the surrender of the government to the opposition by standing fast to his ideals. He did not hesitate but went to Parliament successfully and to the country afterwards unsuccessfully upon the best he could get.

Abraham Lincoln detested slavery, but he knew public sentiment was not ripe for its abolition. He knew that he would remain, like Phillips and Garrison, simply a lecturer in private life and upon isolated platforms if he declared that he would enter public life only upon a basis of the eradication of that institution from our land. He compromised. He said: "I recognize that the large majority of my fellow citizens believe that the institution of slavery has constitutional rights with which the Government cannot interfere, but in new territories where there are no settlements as yet and which are ultimately to become states, I do not think this institution should be introduced. In states where it exists I see no power to interfere with it and would do all I can to protect there that special species of property." On that principle he was elected President of the United States. When the Civil War began he was urged to issue at once the Proclamation of Emancipation. Had he done so he would have lost the support of the majority of the northern people, the war would have been a failure, and the Union would have become permanently dissolved. He waited until public sentiment would support the measure, waited for over two years, trying in the meantime to placate in every way the slave power, until finally he felt that the time was ripe and then the Emancipation Proclamation proved the salvation of the Union. The same difficulties perpetually present themselves to the Representative or Senator in Congress. He may have views which are different from those of his constituents upon questions which have arisen since he was elected. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is so much better for the country, from any view which he can take as a party man, that his party should remain in power, that on this one question he performs the better public service by surrendering his convictions



to the judgment of the majority and the judgment of his people than by wrecking his party in Congress by assisting in its defeat and then returning home to be rejected by an indignant constituency. He finds that to succeed he must be continually compromising. Bills come before the committee. He has definite opinions upon a special measure: he discovers that the other members of the committee are widely at variance with him on the subject. If he would succeed at all, if he would have a measure which in any way carries out what he believes ought to be done, he must defer right and left and accept right and left until the perfected bill is far from the ideal which he had framed in his own mind. Nevertheless it is a step in the direction in which he thinks his country should march. His associates have the same opportunities for information and decision, and the judgment of the majority, he must recognize in a broad and impartial way, may be so superior to his own, that the bill is better than the one which he would have framed. But even farther than this is the Senator or Representative often compelled to go. The Harbor of New York is the most important in the United States. Two-thirds of our commerce passes through its gateways. It is essential that this vast traffic be not interrupted; that the channel should be kept deep and wide. The River and Harbor Bill comes up and Representatives and Senators from all parts of the country wish to have rivers deepened and interior streams improved and interior bayous made into harbors and coast lines rectified in their respective states in a way which seems extravagant and absurd. But the Senator from New York must recognize local conditions, recognize the desires, the purposes and the emphatic intentions of these Representatives who are pressing these appropriations, which he regards as very unwise, or else let the channels and the harbor of his City and State fill up and the commerce of New York be destroyed.

Now, I know that you say, "How about the Party Boss; where does he come in, how is he created, and how can he be eliminated?" As I have said before, popular government cannot exist without parties and

parties cannot exist without organization. The party is a great free army. At its head is the National Committee. To this committee is entrusted the presidential campaign and the maintenance of an organization between one election and another. Then comes the State Committee in each commonwealth. Subordinate to the State Committee and acting under its instructions are the county committees; subordinate to the county committees and acting under their instructions are the district and ward committees in the cities and the town committees in the country. The boss, as he is called—really the leader—exists now in all our cities, but in only a few of the states. In most states the party leadership is in the State Committee, and in practical operation the chairman and executive committee of the State Committee, in whose membership are found the best minds of the organization. Supreme leadership comes from a rare faculty in influencing the judgment and controlling the minds of associates, and superior sagacity in party management and elections. In one form its strength lies in patronage. The distribution of this is given to the party leader for looking after party affairs. The concentration of citizens in their ordinary vocations is so great that party management and work devolves upon professional politicians. This will be the practice until every man understands and acts upon the belief that public business is his business and sets apart a time to attend to it. In this way the worker is appointed to office and the office does not interfere with his political activity. The party leader has then, supported by the government, by the state, by the counties, towns and municipalities, an army of trained political soldiers who do his bidding in the conventions where the party government is kept intact and the nominations for elective offices are made.

People wonder how it is that in a great city like New York one man should be its master. I have known several of the bosses, or leaders, of Tammany Hall, and Tammany Hall has governed the city almost uninterruptedly for a generation. This man begins his political activities in the ward when young. He becomes a member

of the Common Council; he becomes very popular in his locality; he secures a following which candidates for office have to reckon with; he becomes a district leader; he becomes one of the trusted advisers of the boss, or leader of the city, and finally exhibits the qualities by which in a change, by death or deposition of the boss, he is put in that position. This city organization is a close corporation, and upon its continuance in power depend the living and the fortunes of the directors, who are the district leaders.

If he has the courage and sagacity possessed by John Kelly as a leader, or by Richard Croker, he remains autocrat. There are thirty-five districts and therefore thirty-five district leaders. They constitute the power of the Tammany organization. The district leader is generally an office-holder with a large salary, who is expected to keep his district in line for his party. He has no time for the office which he holds. Its duties are performed by a deputy. He must be at the police court in the morning to bail out constituents who have been arrested for drunkenness or petty offenses, or to secure their discharge. He must be at the civil court to help tenants who are being dispossessed; he must spend the rest of the day hammering at the doors of every department to secure positions for constituents who are out of work. In this way these thirty-five men have, by legitimate work among their people, a tremendous following which is led by them on election day for their party and their ticket. Now suppose you wish to get rid of Mr. Croker or Mr. Kelly. Eighteen of these thirty-five must decide to do it. Before the revolt has reached five, the leader has discovered it; the thirty-five are called together; traitors are pointed out; their districts are reorganized; a faithful henchman of the boss in each district is put in command, the traitor is dismissed from office and finds himself stripped of power, patronage and income and utterly helpless. If the boss is corrupt, or if he permits corruption in the organization, and bad government in any and every form, there is a remedy always with the people. No organization, no combination of district leaders, no boss or leader can survive defeat at the polls. If the boss remains in power, remains

autocrat and remains master, it is because the people want him. If the people rise in their might and elect men of their own choice who are hostile to the organization, to the leaders, and to the boss, their power is at once gone. If that defeat is repeated, leaders are changed, the organization is reformed, assumes a new shape, conforms itself with new men to public opinion, and gets into power only by being purified. So, in the last analysis, bad government and good government are solely, wholly, absolutely with the people.

It would be invidious to speak of the living, and therefore I will say that the greatest party leader I ever knew was Thurlow Weed. He was a politician of rare sagacity; he was the proprietor and editor of the state paper of his party; he was a journalist with prophetic instinct as to popular opinion. He governed his party for thirty years by recognizing talent wherever it exhibited itself in a state convention or in the Legislature. A young man who displayed ability upon the platform or with his pen, which could be useful to the party, was sure to be brought out and advanced by Mr. Weed. Most party leaders whom I have known, and who have been deposed, have met their Waterloo because they have become wedded to old associates and have denied young men and young ambitions admission to a share in the party government and party organization until they have been overwhelmed by the rising tide of youth.

It is an inestimable privilege now about to be enjoyed by you to become American citizens. You have before you great examples in men whose lives are open for your study and guidance. The twentieth century for the United States is a period full of opportunities, greater than those which were presented to Hamilton, Jefferson, the Adamses and Roger Sherman; greater than were presented to Webster and Clay and Calhoun; greater than were presented to Lincoln and Chase and Seward; greater even than have been presented to McKinley and his compatriots.

Politics are cleaner and purer than in what are known as the "good old times." Education is more widely

diffused and there is an accessible public opinion never before so easily open to appeal. There never was a time in town, in village, in city and in our country when young men were so needed to keep parties pure, to keep party organizations free from corrupting influences to maintain within the parties high standards of public service and high principles for public measures. We have not yet grasped the full meaning of the world power and world opportunities which have come to us so suddenly; we have not yet grasped what these possessions, which are not colonies but territories, mean for our commercial, industrial, financial and political future. The responsibilities of a nation which must have an open door to the markets of the world for the products of its people, of a nation which must lead its wards to a constantly increasing measure of self-government, of a nation which is to be the leader of the world's commerce, production, finance and opinion rest with you.



## At the Hall of Fame, New York University, University Heights, Thursday, May 30, 1901.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

"Victory, or the Abbey!" was the cry with which Nelson began one of his great battles. It condensed in a sentence the ambition of the ages: to die for one's country and find glory and immortality in the national Pantheon. The Scandinavian Viking whose dying vision saw revealed the Valhalla of his hero gods among whom he was to dwell eternally, departed under the same inspiring passion as the Iroquois chieftain singing his death song, surrounded by heaps of his slain enemies. It is doubtful if in any period but ours the great statesman, writer or artist ranked with the soldier. It is the distinction of our time that with advancing civilization we dedicate, beside the panel devoted to the warrior, others with equal honor in the Hall of Fame for authors and editors, rulers and statesmen, judges and lawyers, preachers and theologians, philanthropists, educators, musicians, painters and sculptors, physicians and surgeons, missionaries and explorers. It has been reserved for the close of the nineteenth century to elevate to lasting distinction those leaders of industries whose labors have benefited mankind, the scientists, inventors, engineers, architects and men of business.

This colonnade gives to creative genius equal rank and honor with the destructive talent which has ever commanded the admiration of the world.

The people of all countries have been celebrating the events for each of the last hundred years—the most remarkable era of construction and achievement. Even its wars resulted in the unification, under one government, of kindred races, the enlargement of popular liberty and marvelous material development. The ringing out of the nineteenth century was accompanied by shouting and

hallelujahs over victories which had subdued the powers of the earth, the waters and the air to the service of man; and an equally beneficent evolution in human rights. It was a happy thought which moved the donor of this Hall of Fame, in the midst of these rejoicings, to found a temple to enshrine the memorials of the architects of this triumph; the supreme intelligences whose labors and initiative have caused the nineteenth to stand out high, conspicuous and unapproachable in its grandeur among the centuries. It is properly built in the metropolis of the continent, the great city in which are rapidly concentrating world-wide influences. Under the protection and care of a vigorous and growing institution of liberal learning its purposes will be kept lofty and pure, and its educational value enhanced. Standing on the banks of the noble Hudson and at the gateway of the New World, it welcomes from every section of the country all who are worthy to sit as peers in the company of the immortals, who form its first parliament. There has been the broadest catholicity of judgment and no passions or predjudices of sectarianisms, parties or creeds among the judges. The action of the tribunal is a remarkable exhibit of the disappearance of the bitterness of the Civil War. Though a large majority of the electors were from the North, General Lee is placed beside General Grant and Lincoln received every vote from the South save one.

The American who traces his ancestors to the British Isles and visits for the first time Westminster Abbey, as he wanders through its aisles and chapels experiences a singular sensation of awe and pride. But he is mortified and grieved to find among the memorials of the great who have given imperishable renown to our English-speaking people, such a vast number of statues and monuments to phantom reputations of the past, who are forgotten nonentities of the present. A single act which won the popular applause of the hour has given a favorite of this fickle choice a place among the mighty. Just as the money changers and those who sold doves were driven from the sacred enclosures of the Temple at Jerusalem



should these marbles be thrown out of the grand old Abbey and transplanted to the churchyards where rest the monuments of their kindred, or burned in the lime kiln of oblivion.

Such desecrations are made impossible here. The prohibition of the consideration of any one until ten years after his death removes the danger from the errors of contemporary passion or enthusiasm. The selection and number of the judges constitute a trained and impartial tribunal. The people of the United States are the nominators and one hundred divided among college presidents and educators, professors of history and scientists, publicists, editors and authors, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the head of the highest court in each of the several commonwealths of the Union, are the electors. The gentlemen upon whom has devolved the first selection have found in the wide field open to their choice only twenty-nine whom a majority thought fit to fill the panels of this Hall. There may be disappointment and mortification that after three hundred years of settlement in our country, and one hundred of national life, the harvest should be so small. But our situation was unique and original. We were not a conquering people, absorbing and adopting the civilization, arts and accumulations of a subject nation. By slow, laborous and perilous processes the primeval forests had to be cut, and the wilderness subdued for the settlement and support of the colonists. Savages and soil were inhospitable to these scattered and adventurous families seeking homes and liberty of conscience in an unknown and unexplored land across the sea. In the experiments of new forms of government and the turbulent development of free institutions there was neither thought, nor opportunity, nor time for art or literature or science, or those battles which decide history and the fate of nations.

Counting the colonial period from the first settlement down to the Declaration of Independence, the judges have found but one immortal. Fighting Indians had not created a great soldier; the rude forms of agriculture and the hardships of the frontier bred a race of independent,

vigorous, hardy, self-reliant and supremely courageous men and women; but there was neither incentive nor audience for high intellectual effort, except in the church. The minister was both spiritual and temporal leader and guide. To the lofty ideals and high endeavors of these primitive clergymen posterity is deeply indebted. The biggest brain, the most original thinker and the most powerful writer of the colonial time was Jonathan Edwards. He fitly and alone represents here the foundations of our original ideas, education and empire.

In the story of nations there have generally been seven hundred years from the formation of government to the golden age of letters and art. The tributes here are all, save that to Jonathan Edwards, to the genius of our first century. We can compare these names with the greatest of all time, and without boasting but upon the sure results of the most critical analysis of the elements of fame, proudly claim a place in the front rank for our military and naval heroes; for our statesmen and jurists; for our authors and inventors; for our preachers and philanthropists. We are yet to produce the picture, the poem, the opera or oratorio worthy the great masters. For these there must be the background of centuries, mellowed by time and traditions.

If the Viking could come from his Valhalla, the Areopagite from beneath the temples at Athens, the arbiter elegantiæ from the ruins of Rome, the medieval knight from his armor, Frederick from Potsdam, or Napoleon from the Invalides, to view these our heroes, they would have only contempt for this development of democracy. The inventor of the application of steam to navigation, of the electric telegraph and of the cotton gin, the artisans who were in their time and to their world the herd or mass born to bear the burdens and work for the luxuries of their masters, are here crowned with the fadeless laurels which encircle the brows of the conquerors and rulers of the world. Eli Whitney transformed half a continent from a wilderness to one of the most productive of territories; Fulton made possible transportation by water and land, which have given to our country its prosperous population and

vigorous states, and the leadership in the industrial competition of nations; and Morse added new strength to our Union by discoveries in electrical power, which, from his initiative, have enormously developed the resources of his country, and given opportunity and employment to his countrymen.

The emancipation of labor has been followed by its recognition, and the dignity of its function in human affairs; and now a pathway is open up the difficult ascent of Parnassus. The triumphs of industrial genius have created conditions by which millions can live in comfort and hope, where thousands dwelt in poverty and despair. They have made possible the gigantic fortunes which are the wonder of our day. But the material revolution and its rich results which are thus emphasized, have diverted the mind, culture and ambition of ingenuous youth to paths of gain rather than fame, unless, under a new code, gain in large measure be fame. The dollar, or its eager pursuit, weighs down the wings of genius and prevents its flight to the lofty heights where congregate the Homers and Shakespeares, Miltons and Byrons, the Michael Angelos and the Raphaels and their peers. Our time does not produce their equals. We have now no Tennysons, nor Longfellows, nor Hawthornes, nor Emersons. Perhaps it is because our Michael Angelos are planning tunnels under rivers and through mountains for the connection of vast systems of railways, and our Raphaels are devising some novel method for the utilization of electrical power; our Shakespeares are forming gigantic combinations of corporate bodies, our Tennysons are giving rein to fancy and imagination in wild speculations in stocks, and our Hawthornes and Emersons have abandoned the communings with and revelations of the spirit and soul which lift their readers to a vision of the higher life and the joy of its inspiration, to exploit mines and factories.

When this period of evolution is over, and nations and communities have become adjusted to normal conditions, the fever and the passion of the race for quick wealth and enormous riches will be over. Then the grove, the academy and the study will again become tenanted with philos-

ophers, poets, historians and interpreters of God in man. Unless this shall happen, then let the luxuries and opportunities, evanescent earthly pleasures and the disappearance after death which come from leadership in business be the rewards of the successful; but reserve the Temple of Fame for those only whose deeds and thoughts are the inheritance, education, inspiration and aspiration of endless generations.

A careful statistician has proved that more than one-half the famous men of letters in Europe belong to the upper and middle classes, and that all of the historians and a large majority of the writers and leaders of thought in England are of its people of leisure; while in the French Academy of Sciences only six were of the working class out of ninety-two foreign associates covering the period from 1666 to 1870. Out of the twenty-nine selected by the Judges for their Hall of Fame not more than six can be said to have enjoyed the advantages of fortune. The handicap of class and privilege which it is almost impossible to overcome and is rarely surmounted, prevents any adequate representation from the working people among the leaders in government, the army, the navy, letters or art in Europe. The reverse is true in the United States.

Through the opportunities of free education in the common and high schools, the children from the home of the laborer and the cottage of the artizan are continually rising to distinction in literature and the professions and control of great industrial organizations. The poverty of the peasant with its barriers and hopelessness is unknown to our civilization. The log cabin, the narrow quarters, the straitened circumstances, the daily hardships and sacrifices of comforts, which were the conditions attending the youth of nearly all our distinguished men, were not the grinding poverty of the old world. By the blaze of the fireplaces at night, brainy and ambitious boys, tired in body from the days toil, but fresh of mind, learn the lessons of hope and careers in the lives of those living once like themselves and who were in after years honored and successful in public life, upon the bench, in

the pulpit, in journalism, in libraries, in art, and several of them Presidents of the United States.

It is difficult to define fame. Reputation is often mistaken for it. The one lasts forever and grows brighter with the centuries; the other sinks into oblivion with the temporary conditions upon which it rests. Fame must not be confounded with notoriety, which may be connected with acts of eternal, but infamous memory as that of the fiend who killed President Garfield, or the egotist who fired the temple at Ephesus. Our Civil War was peculiarly distinguished for its many reputations which contemporaries believed enduring. But to-day has forgotten yesterday and treads on the heels of to-morrow, to be left behind in turn by its successors. Events of absorbing interest occupy the mind and imagination of the present, so that it must be illumined by a light other than its own to help it out of the darkness, or it does not recognize the past. Homer, Demosthenes, Socrates and Praxiteles do this as we turn to Greece, and Cæsar and Horace from Rome, and for mediæval and modern Europe their names are less than a score.

The process of the elimination of reputations from current knowledge grows more destructive with each generation until cycles are marked by one survival. The influence of that one is felt in our patriotism, in our nation's existence and power, in our mental growth and expansion, in our incentives to thought and action, in the spark which fires our genius or the divine touch which frees our spirit and soul from the harsh materialism of daily cares, and brings us into communion with the higher life—its aims, its associations, its victories and its joys.

Great men and women make history, and their lives distinguish countries and centuries. Let the court meet here every decade and select for this Hall of Fame those whom they believe deserve most of the Republic. Let there be gathered in the museum the precious relics, statues and memorials of the elect. The ceremony with each repetition will enlist a larger interest and closer scrutiny of worth. It will make more difficult the task of the judges, and more certain the permanence of their choice.

It will cultivate the study and with it the emulation of greatness.

In the cemeteries of France graves are leased for periods of five, ten, twenty or fifty years and in perpetuity. As the terms of the lessees expire, the bones are dug up and dumped into the common receptacle to make room for newer tenants. So in time in this Hall of Fame winnowing will attend selection. Only the tenants who, by the judgment of posterity, hold their titles in perpetuity will remain, and they will have fame.

Of these twenty-nine, who will be left a thousand years hence? The rail splitter who became President of the United States, emancipated the slave, saved the Union, and in a speech of ten minutes at Gettysburg set a classic in the oratory of his country which condensed the philosophy and pathos of the Civil War, will be immortal as Abraham Lincoln. There is one character here which has stood the test of time and grown brighter with the years. Washington has no predecessors, contemporaries, or successors. By the common judgment of mankind he is the noblest example of all countries and all ages of human excellence. If in our hundred and twenty-five years of national existence no other man had risen to the realms of fame, our country's contribution to the marvelous nineteenth century would be complete and supreme in George Washington.

## Interview on Return from Abroad, August 24, 1901.

It is less than a quarter of a century when most Europeans thought native Americans were Indians or black. Now we are the white terror. There is everywhere an eager curiosity, not unmixed with alarm, as to what we will do next. From ignorance and indifference which minimized everything American has come exaggeration which magnifies. Large as are some fortunes with us the reality is small compared with current statements and few as are our wealthy people who are worth a hundred millions of dollars, there are supposed to be thousands of them, and an American is a pretty poor specimen of his kind who cannot show up a million a year. There is a general belief that education, literature, art, science, politics and religion are either neglected, except as contributors to money making or syndicated to sell shares. Nobody asks concerning a visitor from the United States what he has done, but how much he is worth and what of our means of livelihood he is over here to buy or dry up. There is a genuine scare on the Continent about the competition of American manufacturers in their markets and Cabinets are consulting if any combination is practicable, which will prevent the importation of American goods and check our invasion of the East, which has been opened at such vast expense and effort by European governments. I heard a Russian statesman say: "Concert of action may be impossible, but Russia in response to discriminating duties has shown how each country in its own way can stop this competition." In all the world's history wars have been racial or dy-

nastic or for conquest of territories and national enmities have run on those lines and become hereditary. Now armies and navies are not for the maintenance, defense or expanding power of thrones or classes, but to protect and enlarge the opportunities of the workers and the workshops of the labor and capital upon which rest the prosperity and happiness of every nation. We are coming to be considered a common enemy to the extent that we actually supplant foreign manufacturers, and this feeling is intensified by every concern which goes bankrupt, or reduces wages, or lays off a portion of its employees, ascribing it all to American competition. This unfriendliness is not likely to result in war. The relations of European governments are too intricate and uncertain among themselves for any one to take that risk and combination is impossible. An industrial defensive and offensive alliance against us has insuperable difficulties. But we must expect each country to put in practice every device to keep our products out. Germany has both tariff and trusts. Everything there is syndicated. The trusts refuse to sell anything to a merchant who deals in an imported article. This makes it more difficult for the importer because the boycott means ruin. Where the American opens his own warehouse, as the shoe dealers did in Vienna, the native shoe-makers mob the place and the police look the other way. Notwithstanding all this the superiority and cheapness of our goods are giving them increasing demand everywhere.

The perpetual menace of ever increasing overproduction forces the foreign manufacturer to seek markets abroad. On the well known principle that it pays to keep all his forces employed and all his mills at work to their full capacity if a living profit can be had on the majority of the output by selling the surplus at cost or below he is ever looking for a place to dump the cleaning up of his factories. His great hope is such a reduction or abolition of the American tariff



as will enable him to flood our markets. While we can meet him successfully in fair competition he would, with the tariff off, be virtually fighting our industries and artisans with a home bounty and whether it ended in the surrender of a portion of our home markets or the reduction of wages to keep it the result would be equally unfortunate and disastrous. It was interesting to note the intense interest and pleasure in the steel strike and the threatened one in the New England cotton mills. The newspapers were jubilant in their editorials. They predicted the extension of the labor trouble to all industries. They claimed that the contest was the inevitable outcome of the trusts and that home troubles would postpone for years the Yankee industrial invasion and conquest.

While American competition in the markets of the world is more keen with Great Britain than other nations, there is an entire absence of personal animosity about it. From the King to the cab driver only the most cordial sentiments and hospitable action is met. There is no doubt as to the cordiality of feeling towards us as a people and as a nation among the people. I made a speech at a gathering of about one hundred and fifty of the leading operating railway officers. They came from all roads. They were general managers, superintendents of motive power, of signals, of traffic and heads of the working departments. They were an exceedingly intelligent, competent and thoroughly equipped body and like railway men everywhere, deeply interested in public affairs and keenly alive to public opinion. Every reference to the friendship of our two countries, to closer relations and harmonious action in the affairs of the world, to our becoming a world power and its significance were hailed with outbursts of cheers, enthusiasm and cordiality of unmistakable genuineness and fervor, while a suggestion of possible antagonisms was instantly and indignantly repudiated. I asked one of the superintendents about his recreations, and he said one was turn-

ing passages of Thucydides into English. I might have done that forty years ago, but the job would lay me out now.

I found a general sentiment that we should have our way about a canal across the Isthmus, to build, own and control. They were quite ready to accede courteously and cordially to our wishes, only that treaties should be abrogated as they are made by the diplomatic formalities and agreements common among friendly powers.

Europe has just grasped the full meaning of the Monroe Doctrine and unanimously resent it. The Old World wants larger trade with South America, coal-ing stations for fleets on this side of the ocean, both in the Atlantic and Pacific and a free hand for protection of citizens and commerce in the several states of the Isthmus and South America. On this they are all agreed and ready to act and cannot understand that the Monroe Doctrine is as much a part of the settled policy of the United States as its constitution. The railroads in South America have been built with foreign money and mines are developed and worked, docks and warehouses constructed, banks organized and run and every enterprise capitalized and made possible by the lavish investment of English, German, French and Italian capital. The amount runs into tremendous figures and these governments are alert for their citizens and their rights. If we ever have serious trouble it is more likely to come from our fixed purpose on this question than from Eastern complications or commercial rivalries.

The most interesting political events while I was in England, were the efforts of the leaders of the Liberal Party to get together, leaving them wider apart each time they met, and the meeting of the generals and captains of the triumphant Conservatives at Blenheim. The latter was an example of party organization upon the latest American model of machine politics. It was really a national convention of three thousand dele-

gates, four from each Conservative association in the United Kingdom, to celebrate their accession to power six years ago and re-election for six years more by unprecedented majorities. The defeat and irreconcilable differences of the Liberals and the resistless power of the Tories and Liberal Unionists, now one party by the ratification at Blenheim emphasize periods in our own history. When the fighting blood of a people is up and the columns of the papers are filled day by day with lists of the killed and wounded on distant battle fields while rallying around the flag, the vast majority of the men and all the women are for their country, right or wrong. They will support the party that will carry the fight to a finish and the other party must follow or reorganize after peace.

The instructive spectacle in France is a Ministry remaining in office longer by far than any other in the life of the Republic and apparently firmly seated for a long time by a Conservative administration utilizing the Socialists. The sobering influence of responsibility was never so happily illustrated. Confronted with the problems of national defence and domestic peace and prosperity the Socialists in power stand loyally by President Loubet and Premier Waldeck-Rousseau. The event robs a possible Socialistic triumph of many of its terrors and demonstrates that this keen, able, shrewd French lawyer, Waldeck-Rousseau, who without prejudices sought and found assistance in a perilous emergency from the most unpromising elements is the greatest constructive statesman in Europe.



## Interview on Return from Buffalo, September 15, 1901, after the Assassination of President McKinley.

"I found that the whole population, visiting and resident, was horrified by the revulsion of feeling from the absolute confidence of the day before to the doubt caused by the relapse," said Senator Depew yesterday. "I went several times to the Milburn house. At 4 o'clock, although the report came that the President had rallied, the committee of railroad men with whom I had been consulting decided to postpone the exercises for Railroad day. On my visit to the Milburn house I found no especial alarm. What was apparently an extreme attack of indigestion was considered to have been relieved. Later in the day almost the old hopefulness had its sway. Upon an evening visit, however, I found the gloom of a death chamber. I met Senator Hanna, who was quite unnerved, and he told me that the President was dead.

"I was among the men who were near Lincoln when he died and was by, also, when Garfield died. Those about Lincoln were in a wild rage for revenge. Garfield was so short a time President that beyond the general horror and sympathy there were no evidences of deep feeling. At the Milburn house on Friday night a stranger would have said that the Cabinet officers, the Judges, the Senators, and the distinguished men who were associated with President McKinley were members of his family and were feeling in his death the loss of a most cherished member. The poignancy of the grief manifested was extraordinary and showed what a tremendous hold the President had on those who came in contact with him.

"Secretary Root is not an emotional man. His severe training at the bar has taught him to curb his feelings and given him a marvellous control over his emotions, but at the inauguration of Roosevelt in an effort to make a simple announcement that the Cabinet desired the Vice-President to at once assume the Presidency Mr. Root's battle to prevent himself giving external evidence of grief intensified by its failure the broken sentences he uttered. I have witnessed most of the world's pageants in my time, where fleets and armies, music and cannon, wonderful ceremonies and costumes enchanted the onlookers and fired the imagination, but that all seems to me in recollection tawdry and insignificant in the presence of that little company in the library of the Wilcox house in Buffalo. It was apparently a gathering of professional and business Americans, coming hastily from their vocations to the meeting.

"There was an interregnum of a few hours in the Chief Magistracy of the republic. The long silence in the library which had become painful was broken by a few scarcely audible words of the Secretary of War. A brief pause and then the emphatic announcement by the Vice-President of the continuance of the policy of McKinley for the peace, progress, and honor of our beloved country lifted every one out of despair. Roosevelt, with his youth and his magnificent, athletic personality, and the terrible earnestness of his little speech, seemed to personify the indomitable vigor of that American conquest and industrial and commercial evolution, and its continuance, of which McKinley, in the public mind, was largely the creator and wholly the representative. In repeating the words of the Judge administering the oath, Roosevelt extended his hand over his head to the full length of his arm. He closely followed each sentence, and his ending seemed almost as if it was a salvo of artillery: 'And so I swear.'

"That little company had only a few minutes before

left the house of the murdered President, and now they were extending congratulations to his successor who had assumed the greatest office which man can hold, and had become Chief Magistrate of the most powerful country in the world."

Commenting upon the act of the assassin at Buffalo, Senator Depew said:

"It is singular that the United States, possessing the freest government the world has ever known, its Presidents, with the exception of Washington, all having come from the humbler conditions and the tenure in the Chief Magistracy ending in four years, in thirty-six years three of them should have been assassinated. Autocratic Russia is a hot bed of conspiracy against the Czars, yet only one ruler in Russia has been murdered in the period covering the life of the American Republic. The 600 years of the Hapsburg house and nearly as many of the Hohenzollern dynasty have been free from the tragedy of assassination. Only one member of the house of Savoy, King Humbert, fell under the assassin's hand. The English throne has been free from these crimes for 1,000 years. In France in thirty years one of her presidents has been assassinated; with the exception of Henry IV, none of her kings or emperors. The immunity of rulers of Continental Europe is ascribed to the care of guards. There are no special precautions surrounding the movements and residence of the English sovereign.

"The murder of Lincoln was not the act of an anarchist and was as deeply regretted by the South, whose wrongs Booth thought he was avenging, as by the North. Had Lincoln lived the reconstruction of the South on lines satisfactory to its intelligence would have come much sooner. The assassination of a ruler has always defeated the purpose of the attack by intensifying the power of the Government assailed. The assassination of Garfield was the crime of an adle-brained egotist seeking notoriety, without accom-

plices or sympathizers. And yet we can trace Guit-eau's crime to the intense passions of factional strife of the period.

"President McKinley was the most beloved of our Presidents. Beyond any of them he possessed the affection of the whole American people. Parties and partisanship had ceased to have any enmity toward him personally. He was not only the best friend of the workingman and the wage-earner who ever filled the place of ruler of a great country, but they all knew it and so regarded him. Notwithstanding these facts this most popular of Presidents fell a victim to a conspiracy. His death was brought about as a result of teachings of a political school which, so far as they dare, approve and applaud the crime.

"The conditions which give comparative safety to European rulers and make the position of President of the United States the most hazardous place in the world, must be considered in the protection to be given in the future to our Presidents. All Continental governments by concert of action among the police of the several countries locate, identify and exchange descriptions of Anarchists and Anarchist groups. To arrest them on the slightest pretext you must in various ways endeavor to make life unbearable for them. The Reds have in the main fled from these countries to find asylums only in Great Britain and the United States. They work a vigorous propaganda through their publications for use on this continent. The Scotland Yard police hold the London Anarchists under constant surveillance. The Anarchist leaders in Russia are all foreigners, as with us, with the exception of one or two. The leaders in Great Britain order that no outrages be committed there. They know that an attempt on the life of the sovereign would lead to the expulsion of them all.

"The Reds have discovered that in the United States there is such absolute freedom that there is no law, Federal or State, under which anything worse can hap-



pen than brief imprisonment if unsuccessful, and execution only if successful, to the member of their society upon whom the lot falls to assassinate a President, a Governor, a Judge or a policeman. The chief tenets of the Anarchist organization being revolution of society by killing those who now carry out its laws, how can we protect our President and have him as safe from these assaults as European sovereigns? There is no analogy between a President who temporarily represents the people and executes their will and the hereditary rulers of Europe, but the Anarchists make no distinction.

“In the first place, President Loubet of the French Republic does not attend public meetings, speak from the platform of railway cars, move around in an approachable and conspicuous way to fairs and expositions, nor hold open levees for the shaking of hands. Whenever he appears he is guarded by secret police. They know his route and, themselves inconspicuous, keep a constant watch on the President and those near him. Our Presidents are in the habit of shaking hands with everybody who wishes wherever they have temporarily stopped or have been staying. Can we afford, when the life of the President is so important to every interest in the country, to have him continue this ceremony without restriction or limitation? The American people number 77,000,000. It would be almost impossible for a President in his four years in office to shake hands with 50,000 persons. Considering that some one person in this insignificant proportion of our people might precipitate a tragedy that would plunge the whole country into grief and disturb commercial and industrial conditions, the question arises, Can we afford to continue to imperil our Presidents? Our Presidents, notwithstanding the danger, must continue to travel and meet the people as heretofore with certain precautions and with changes in the functions which have been characterized as Presidential receptions.

“We must begin at the fountain head and stop the reservoirs of European anarchy pouring into our country. Such certification of immigrants must be had as will establish a proper environment and association abroad before they pass our immigrant inspectors. Supplementing this, there should be under proper safeguards the power lodged somewhere to expel known enemies of our laws and country. Legislation should also be adopted by the Federal Government and all States that will make attempts upon the life of the President which fall out of the category of mere assaults and make such crimes adequately punished.”

## At the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, on Railroad Day, September 28, 1901.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have been for thirty-five years in the railway service. It was my good fortune in the earlier days and subordinate positions to have those confidential relations with the executive which gave me an intimate knowledge of every department of railway work. The most treasured recollections of this period are the friends who, once made, have never failed, and who were from every rank, from the foot-board to the superintendent of motive power, from the track to the general superintendent, from the machine shop to the master mechanic, from the desks in the offices to the traffic managers, the general passenger agents, the treasurers and the whole staff. An active and energetic pursuit of politics, running along with railway work, has brought me also in close contact with citizens of every profession, business, vocation and trade in the country. In this way I have been able to form a judgment upon the characteristics, the good citizenship, the intelligence and the character of railway men as they are like or differ from men in other pursuits.

So much has been said of late years about railway power and influence that, in order to have a clearer view of the dignity and usefulness of our profession, we should take a short hour for a review of the rise, development and present position of the great carriers of the world. Empires and cities have grown and decayed as they were favorably or unfavorably situated along the great highways of commerce. The flourishing mart of to-day is the deserted hamlet of to-morrow, when new routes and better ones have diverted the course of traffic to other channels than those on which the ruined city is located. Transportation in its modern sense is one, and the most

important, of the mighty agencies which made the nineteenth the most important century in the history of mankind. It has always been possible for commerce to thrive along navigable water-courses, but the difficulty in reaching the interior, the cost of transportation increasing for every mile by old methods, made population and industries impossible upon any modern scale. The imagination is appalled in the effort to grasp where the world would be to-day and what the condition of its inhabitants if the steamship and the railroad had not been invented. It is little more than seventy years since Stephenson built his locomotive. I found a book of minutes of the directors of one of the earliest railroads—the Mohawk and Hudson. This was one of the links which now form the New York Central. At the meeting of the Board in 1831, a committee of the directors and the engineer had reported in favor of substituting an iron for a wooden rail. The directors were not convinced. They reported it back to the engineer and the committee for further investigation and report. Among the members of this board were the first John Jacob Astor and Hamilton Fish. The latter lived to see all the marvels produced by the railroad of to-day. The rail of the period was a thin strap nailed upon the wood, and this strap, getting loose at the ends, would be caught by the wheel and run up through the cars, frequently impaling the passenger or cutting off his leg or arm.

Without the railroad there would have been no Northwestern, no Mountain and no Pacific States. The few people in the vast territory between Chicago and the Pacific Ocean would have been engaged exclusively in agriculture. Their harvests, their flocks and their herds would have been useful only for the food of themselves and their neighbors. The cost of transportation would have been prohibitive. Cheap transportation by the railway has enabled the Dakota farmer to sell his wheat to the miller at Minneapolis or at Buffalo, and the miller to sell his flour to New England and the Middle States. It has permitted the West and Northwest to successfully compete in the English markets with grain from

Russia, Egypt and India. It has made the vast plains beyond the great lakes, which were the feeding grounds of the buffalo fifty years ago, the granary of the world. It has enabled the artisan to live, the factory, the mills and the furnaces to exist, the mines to be opened and comforts and luxuries to be enjoyed by all the people. With a modern system of transportation wholly developed within the three-score years and ten allotted to the span of life, every family, without regard to its position in life, enjoys the comforts and luxuries in the products of other climes, other countries and other continents, which even the richest could not procure a hundred years ago. Upon the table of every working man is the food which has come thousands of miles across the continent and the oceans, and in his family are the clothing, the furniture, the tools of his trade and the equipment of his home, which represent a lesson in geography of varied industries, of raw material and its place of growth and place of conversion into the manufactured products and of the lives and conditions of far-distant peoples which was hardly within the possible information of a college professor in the time of his grandfather.

Since the construction of Stephenson's locomotive, seventy-two years ago, there have been built in the whole world 475,000 miles of railway, which are capitalized at about forty billions of dollars. The aggregate length of the railways of the United States is 197,000 miles, and is capitalized in stock and bonds at eleven billions seven hundred and nineteen millions of dollars. The mileage of our railroads is six times greater than that of any other country, and many thousands of miles longer than all the railroads of Europe put together. While the United States occupy but six per cent. of the land surface of the earth, they have over forty per cent. of its railway mileage. The internal commerce of our country is so vast that the tonnage annually carried by our railroads is greater than the totals for Great Britain, Ireland, France and Germany combined, and to that may be added the ocean tonnage of all the seas also.

Railway development in the United States commenced

in 1830. In that year forty miles were built. Up to 1860 we had reached in the thirty years only 28,000 miles or less than a thousand miles a year. The Civil War, by death and wounds, took two millions of men out of the active industries of the country; it destroyed over ten thousand millions of dollars' worth of property; it added three thousand millions to our national debt; it devastated ten States, and yet the benefits and the blessings of the abolition of slavery, the removal of the danger of disunion and the unification of the Republic in one great nation were so great that between 1865 and 1870, 21,000 miles of railway were built; between 1870 and 1880, 37,000 miles more, and between 1880 and 1890, 77,000 miles still additional, while from 1890 to 1897 there were added 21,000 miles more, and from 1897 to 1900 there were 9,000 miles built. These figures are more eloquent than the most glowing utterances that have moved armies to victory, senates to action, and peoples to religious frenzy. Every mile of railroad built means tens of thousands of acres brought under cultivation and opened for settlement; it means villages and cities, happy homes and industrious and thriving populations. It is safe to say that without the railway development of to-day, if the population of Europe or America were the same, the congestion would lead to poverty, starvation, misery and anarchy beyond the power of imagination to conceive.

There were in the service of the railroads in 1900—that is, on their payrolls—over a million men, and there were paid to these men in that year \$577,000,000, or sixty per cent. of the entire expenses of the railways for their operation. There were at least a million more men engaged in building cars and locomotives, in mining coal, in getting out ore, in making steel rails and their attachments, and in a multitude of other employments, which exist only to supply the railroads; so that one in every fifteen of the persons in the United States who are engaged in economical pursuits or earning wages or salaries, get their living from the operation of the railroads of the country. The gross earnings of the railroads of the United States in 1900 was \$1,487,000,000. Of this, \$577,000,000

went for labor directly on the payroll; material and supplies, which are mainly labor, rentals, interest and taxes, absorbed all the rest of the \$910,000,000 earnings, except \$118,000,000 to the stockholders. To make this situation more clearly understood, of every hundred dollars earned by the railroad, thirty-nine dollars go directly to the employees of the company, twenty-seven dollars go for supplies—which is labor—twenty-three dollars go for interest on indebtedness and rentals of other peoples and city properties, three dollars are paid in taxes, and eight dollars go to the stockholders. These eight dollars, distributed over the capitalization, yield in dividends on the stock a little over two per cent. To be entirely fair it must be understood that on about one-third of the capitalization of the railroads of the country no dividends are paid at all, which makes a higher average for the roads which do pay dividends.

When I entered the railroad service, in 1866, the rate per ton per mile for freight was two cents, or twenty mills; the average rate per ton per mile on all railroads of the country in 1900 was about seven mills. This reduction makes the rate of to-day little more than a third of what it was thirty years ago. Had our railroads received in 1900 the same rates for freight which they did thirty years ago their income would have been nearly treble.

This reduction has enormously stimulated the productive energies of the United States. The interest on the bonded debt at that period averaged seven per cent. It has now come down to about four and one-half per cent., while most of the railroads which were paying eight or ten per cent. have come down to four or five per cent. The public has received the whole of this reduction; none of it has been taken off from labor. One bushel of wheat in 1866 would carry two bushels from Chicago to New York; one bushel of wheat in 1900 would carry six bushels from Chicago to New York.

In this same thirty-five years of my railroad service, while rates have gone down nearly two-thirds for freight and one-third for passengers, the taxes have doubled. These reductions in the net earnings of the railways,

because of constant lowering of rates by railroad wars and other causes, have not been felt at all by the employees. On the contrary, their wages have been constantly increased, having been advanced  $87\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or nearly double, during that period.

The building of 150,000 miles of railway in thirty years led to great confusion and to many errors and mistakes. On the one hand it stimulated an enormous immigration and settlement; the productive energies of the country were pushed to their utmost, and everywhere was feverish haste. Speculative spirit was aroused and periods of prosperity soon developed mad speculation and ended in a series of panics phenomenal in the history of business and finance. States, territories, farming communities, mining centers and cities clamored for railways. Agents swarmed over Europe presenting glowing pictures of the opportunities for homes, comfort and wealth in these new communities, and along the lines of these recently constructed railways. Syndicates and construction companies pushed the lines as far and fast as the securities could be sold in the market. As fast as the construction company had closed its account upon one line it moved to a new enterprise, and the public became the possessors of the securities of the new corporation. In most instances the line at first did not pay, and the investing public lost vast sums of money by the depreciation of the stocks and bonds, or the foreclosure and reorganization of the companies. The communities which had been most clamorous for the railways, and had felt their benefits in the increased value of their farms, in the development of their water-power and in the sudden building of their towns, soon came into collision with the managers of the lines on the question of freight rates. Politicians and demagogues who had been most active in stimulating the popular demand for the railroad saw their opportunity in promoting prejudices against it. The railway managers of that period did not appreciate their duties to the public. They were autocratic and arbitrary, and in many instances untrained. The business grew beyond the education of



men competent to manage it. It takes the qualities which produce a great general and make a successful business man on a large scale to manage the intricate relations of a railway company with its several communities, with the general public and with its employees and owners. Enormous prices for salaries and in lump sums were bid for this talent, often without success. The difference between an able and even a moderately equipped manager will be to a great railroad so many millions of dollars that his salary cuts no figure. The inability of many railway managers to grasp the situation, the panics which threw whole communities into bankruptcy or suspended industries which meant extreme poverty and the misrepresentations of the politician who hoped to climb to power on a new issue, created violent antagonisms in many States between the people and the railroads. Then came forward a class of statesmen who formulated bills as remarkable for their ignorance of the situation as they were injurious to both the operations of the road and to the people who patronized it. The greatest and most intricate scientific problem of the age could not be solved by sweeping measures of restriction or confiscation prepared by men, however honest and well-meaning, who could not possibly comprehend the subject. The consolidation of connecting lines was violently opposed as hostile to the public interest and the argument seemed unanswerable, but the enormous benefits to the public in the reduction of rates, the improvement of the line and equipment, the speed of trains and the disappearance of frictions at every terminal, which have resulted from the consolidation of the eleven roads which make the present New York Central, or the half dozen which make the present Lake Shore, are so universally admitted that a proposition to dissolve them into the original lines, and change freight and passengers at each end, as formerly, would now raise a revolution. Legislation by the States done in this hasty and crude way threatened to sidetrack large communities and deprive them of the benefits of the seaboard and interior being brought together. It took years to grasp.

even if it is now fully understood, the relations between a train of loaded cars of wheat moving night and day from Dakota to New York, requiring little for its service of the vast equipment at stations and freight yards along the line, and the local train which takes up a partly loaded car here and there and serves the communities within the State line. After a bitter struggle in our own State of New York, which lasted some years, and which threatened the commercial supremacy of the State and city, as well as the destruction of the New York Central Railroad as a dividend paying company, I met, by the authority of Mr. Vanderbilt, these commercial bodies. We discussed these questions for months; we took volumes of testimony. I became convinced that of the three methods of meeting the question—ownership by the States or by the National Government, universal consolidation, not only of connecting lines but also of competing lines, and State and National supervision—the last was the true solution of the whole difficulty. It required the united strength of the commercial bodies and of the railroads to induce our Legislature, so heated had the public feeling become, to create a Railway Commission and give it these supervisory powers. It got in full operation about the time that I became President of the New York Central Railroad. For the fourteen years of administration and until its close I was brought in constant contact with the Commission and its operations, and felt that it would be strengthened by having upon it a railway man from the working force, and securing an amendment to that effect, Michael Rickard, a locomotive engineer, was appointed. The New York Central has never resisted any order of the Commission. Directly its orders have cost the company hundreds of thousands of dollars, but indirectly the benefits to the public and to the company have been incalculable. Every shipper and passenger and employee knows that a two-cent postage stamp will carry his complaint to Albany, and that it will be immediately heard. He need be at no expense, for the Commission will undertake to act in his behalf.

§ The legislation of Massachusetts and New York has been happily followed by the formation of a national railway commission. This body has performed excellent service. Its functions are so important and affect such vast interests that the places upon the commission should be made so attractive, by length of term and compensation as to secure the ablest minds in the country. With some modification of the Inter-State Commerce Law and increase of power in the commission, a tribunal may be created which would take railroads in the nation out of politics, as they are in our own State. There is no reason why a railroad man should be discriminated against in the public service, and every reason why his training and intelligence render him as competent to fill office and execute with honor and ability the duties of any position as his fellow citizens of other callings or professions.

The railway service trains and educates. It develops the same type of men all over the world. They are quick to think and act, open-minded to suggestions and inventions, and free from bigotry of opinion. In England, this summer, I attended an inspection, and afterwards a lunch with one hundred and fifty of the general managers and heads of the operating, traffic, passenger, motive power and engineering departments of the railways of Great Britain, and was made at once to feel at home. If the shareholders could depart from old traditions, and leave to these bright and progressive officers the reformation of their roads, every one of them would be up to date with American appliances and methods within a year. It was like an American railway convention, except that a superintendent of motive power said to me he had not yet got over the habit of turning Greek into English, and translated a chapter of Thucydides history every day. I told him our master mechanics and superintendents quit that as soon as they were promoted from the shop or the cab of the locomotive to high office.

Nothing enlarges the understanding and liberalizes ideas like travel. The perpetual horizon of one's town is the prison wall of the mind. Provincialism believes that there is no business man, orator, teacher or genius like the village

storekeeper, lawyer, preacher or poet. But when men and women cross the county line and mingle with the world; when they meet the men whose hands are on the levers of progress and thought; when they see how infinitesimal we are except as parts of the vast and complex machinery of society, and the opportunities there are for larger activities and places—then they learn the most important lesson in life, which is “there are others.” This development is the peculiar privilege of our profession. Railroad men go everywhere. They rub against statesmen and politicians, fools and frauds, employers and employees, the successful and moderately successful, those who control and those who swim with the tide, and see the operations of great enterprises. They are the most eager and observant readers of the newspapers. Among themselves, they are good fellows, in the camaraderie of an honorable and useful calling, and at home and abroad oracles of news and views.

The development of the close of the wonderful nineteenth century is specially distinct in our vocation. Thirty years ago there were no schools for the education which is now required. The old-timer was a rule-of-thumb man. He was a rough-and-ready customer, and his language was as lurid as his administration was arbitrary and tyrannical. He hated the new men from the schools, and all that he termed “new-fangled notions.” Though some of the best of our managers of to-day have come from this class, the difficulties of their self-education and equipment demonstrate their extraordinary ability. Now, however, the service demands at the beginning a training undreamed of in the early days. I remember one of these hard-headed old superintendents who was overwhelmed with the sudden development of passenger traffic. The complaints of insufficient accommodations led to his being summoned before the board of directors. To the question why he did not provide more trains and more cars, his answer was, “What is the use? No matter how many cars we put on, the people will fill them up just the same.”

Despair and pessimism have no place in the railway service. Its managers and heads of departments have

risen from the ranks. Every young beginner can look up the hill which he wants to climb, and see every prominent position occupied by those who were once where he is, and his hopes will increase as he learns that merit and not favor wins promotions. Among the million of railway men who are voters there are no socialists and, thank God, not an anarchist.

The most valuable and valued political right in the world is American citizenship. Its liberty and opportunity can be had under no other government and in no other country. It is extended freely to all who come from foreign lands to enjoy its blessings. The greater its privileges, the greater the crime of seeking and then abusing them. To accept hospitality for the purpose of murder and requite it with assassination, in the common judgment of mankind, is the most hideous of outrages. The citizen circulates all over our land without restraint, registration or supervision. He has absolute liberty of speech, with his pen or upon the platform. The time has come when the law must draw the line between liberty and license. Teaching the weak or depraved or ignorant to kill our rulers is not the liberty guaranteed by our Declaration of Independence. We elect from among ourselves for a brief tenure those who shall govern us and carry out our laws. To-day our fellow citizen becomes a President by the fairly registered will of the majority, and to-morrow he is again one of ourselves in his private citizenship. No one could refuse a call from his countrymen to this great office, and it is within the legitimate ambition and possibility of every American boy. To make war on him in the same way as if he were a despot who recognized no rights due his oppressed subjects, is an attack on the foundations of our liberty, our social structure and all that makes life worth the living. We must safeguard our citizenship. We must raise the barriers and increase the requirements for immigration. While thus protecting our country from the admission of its avowed enemies, we must place somewhere the power to expel them.

We are here to visit this superb exhibition of the peace-

ful development of our own and of our sister countries of North and South America. But we are in the hall where President McKinley was so treacherously and foully assassinated. We cannot adjourn without expressing our horror of the murder, and hope for legislation which will specially meet this worst of crimes, and our love and reverence for our martyred President. There is but one sentiment among those who voted for and those who voted against him. Americans loved William McKinley. His domestic life and tender devotion to an invalid wife are part of every American home. He was always a warm friend of railroad men, and appointed a locomotive engineer to be Third Assistant Postmaster General, one of the most responsible positions in the Government. During his administration, by reason of increased prosperity, one hundred and ninety-four thousand additional men have been placed on the pay rolls of the railways, and one hundred and ten millions of dollars more paid yearly in wages. His past is history, and an important and brilliant chapter of the most beneficent era in our country's life. Without prejudice or partisanship, we can all view with pride the great part he has played in the drama of nations. His legacy to his countrymen is the example of the acceptance and performance of every duty, public and private, with buoyant cheerfulness and scrupulous fidelity. He never complained of his lot or of his task, but joyously did the work before him. "It is God's will" was the motto of his life, as it was the consolation in his death. He was a soldier of the cross without cant or rant or fads or fanaticism. It was this idea which lifted him from the ranks to be major of his regiment before he was of age, which gave him the leadership in the House of Representatives, which carried him into the Presidency and gave his administration such marvellous success. It made his last hours and dying words most pathetic, fullest of courage and resignation, and most calmly heroic. He died as he had lived—in the broadest and highest sense—a Christian and a patriot.

## Campaign Speech in Favor of the Fusion Ticket in New York City, November 1, 1901.

FELLOW CITIZENS :

Two weeks after I left Yale, I entered the canvass of that year and stumped the state. Thus, for forty-five years, without any interruption, I have taken part in every national and state canvass. In looking back over the issues, the characteristics of each campaign and the candidates, I find that everyone of them was distinctly individual and interesting. No more readable book could be written than a graphic description of these forty-five campaigns; but while each had its feature which marked it from every other, there was running through all of them this likeness: The party in power was generally on the defensive and presenting a vigorous explanation and justification for its policy and acts; the party out of power was aggressive, full of charges and of reasons why there should be a change of administration; it has sometimes happened that the party in power presented, not by way of defence, but by way of glory, its principles, its policies and its measures, and at the same time attacked those who were seeking the public confidence.

This campaign differs from any which we have known for half a century. In fact, I think, it differs from any in the whole history of the politics of our state or of our country. It is not a party campaign. There is no party, in the national sense, on one side or the other. On one side is Tammany Hall in possession of the city, its offices and its revenues. Tammany Hall is not a political party. It has often been in direct opposition to the party with which it is generally affiliated. It is in alliance in this campaign

with the McLaughlin machine of Kings County, and nine times out of ten Tammany Hall and the McLaughlin machine have been hostile to each other. On the other hand there are ten organizations—Independent Democrats, citizens who act independently of all parties and for the public good only in municipal elections, German and other national organizations and the regular organization of the Republican party—supporting Mr. Low. Now, the united opposition, known as the Fusion party, make distinct and terrible charges against the administration of this city for the last four years under Tammany Hall. They charge that the salaries of the officials have been enormously and unjustifiably increased. They charge that the taxation has enormously increased. They charge that there has been an addition of nearly one-third to the expenditures of the city, with practically nothing to show for it, and that this one-third is as large as the expenditures of the state governments of nearly all the states in the Union. They charge that in certain districts of the city vice has not only gone without restraint but has been under the protection of the section of the police of those districts. It is charged that the Street Department has expended one-third more than Waring with one-third less results. It is charged that bitter partisanship has been carried to such an extent in city privileges, public contracts and all the multitudinous things which should be open to every citizen upon equal terms, that there has been virtually created a trust to do the public work, handle the public money and spend the public taxes. Now, this campaign differs from all others in the fact that not one of these charges is denied. Mr. Shepard, the candidate of Tammany and of the Brooklyn machine, meets all such charges by the simple statement: "I am an honest man and a Democrat." The platform upon which he stands justifies everyone of these allegations by stating that they are all in the interest of good government and what the people of this town want. Mr. Shepard



comes before the public asking for their suffrages for Mayor upon his past record, his high character and his intelligence. He appeared before the great audience in Tammany Hall in the longest speech which has been made in this canvass, and which, after a careful perusal, seems to me to mean nothing and to promise nothing. There have been only two effective speeches, two expressions of policy made by the Tammany side, one by Mr. Shepard, who claims that he represents the Democratic party and not Tammany Hall, and the other a distinct statement, applauded in Tammany Hall circles, of what Tammany means and what she can do. The Shepard speech is eight columns of glittering generalities; the other speech was made by Chief of Police Devery, who, standing behind the declaration of Mayor Van Wyck that he was the best Chief of Police this city ever had, said, "No matter who is elected I stay in; nobody can get me out." Devery's speech goes further and deals in natural history. He compares the energetic and brilliant candidate for District Attorney to a rhinoceros and says that the rhinoceros plunges to the bottom of the river and then comes up and spouts. My impression is that the Chief meant a hippopotamus. Certainly the Chief should admire the hippopotamus when he considers its open mouth and its strength of jaw.

Mr. Shepard says, "I decline to say what I will do in reference to the police against whom all these scandals are alleged; I decline to say what I will do in reference to these questions which have been raised, indicating that great reforms are necessary for the good government of this city." He presents the novel excuse that the constitution forbids the offering of considerations for the votes of the people. If the candidate cannot tell the people what his policy and purposes are, how are the people to know, and how are they to vote on matters which so intimately affect their welfare? William McKinley didn't believe it to be against the constitution or against propriety to

say that if elected he would carry out the policy of the protection of American industries and appeal to the people to support him because he would. Grover Cleveland did not hesitate to say that if elected he would, as far as possible, do away with the protective tariff and inaugurate another system, and he appealed to the people to support him on that issue. Samuel J. Tilden, when he ran for Governor, did not hesitate to say that the canals were full of corruption in their repairs and in their construction, and that if elected he would "turn the rascals out"; he would arrest and try the thieves; he would compel them to disgorge and put the money back into the public treasury.

There has nothing in this campaign been said against Tammany Hall so severe, so direct and so to the point as will be found in the speeches made by the present candidate, Mr. Shepard, in 1893 and 1897. In 1897 he said that Tammany Hall was a blot upon the politics of the country; that it was unfit to be entrusted with power and that it would use that power against the interests of the community and corrupt it. He said that Seth Low, whom he supported, possessed every qualification to be Mayor of New York, and that good government, good morals and good citizenship demanded his election. It is the same Seth Low who is running now, representing precisely the same thing that he did in 1897 and receiving the same non-partisan support, with the addition of one organization—The Republican—which he did not have in 1897. We have had four years of Tammany Hall; the predictions in regard to the government we would have under Tammany Hall by Mr. Shepard in 1897 have all come to pass. They are of record; they are not denied; Mr. Shepard does not deny them. Then what is his position, when he accepts the nomination from Tammany Hall, which he so bitterly denounced, from the Kings and Willoughby Street machine which he so bitterly denounced in 1893? He admits that neither of them has changed in any respect since his utterances of

1893 and 1897, but he appeals for the suffrages of his fellow citizens on the ground that if once made Mayor he will alone reform Tammany and purify the Kings County machine. Every candidate upon the ticket with him is a Tammany man, tried and true, pledged to the Tammany organization and to carry out Tammany methods. If he is elected he carries with him the whole Tammany machine and will be a figurehead as absolutely helpless as a child. It will be a miracle if he escapes being Tammanyized himself, because of the difficulties of a tenderfoot like Shepard escaping the influence of the environment and the surroundings of his position. He will not be permitted to see anything except through Tammany spectacles, or hear anything except through Tammany ear-trumpets. He may think that he will be in the position of Daniel in the lion's den, but it is not recorded that Daniel succeeded in reforming the lion; it is not believed that the same power which closed the lion's jaws for Daniel will be exerted for Shepard. The den in which Shepard goes is not a den of lions but a den of tigers, and he must either become a tiger or be devoured. This whole question is befogged by Mr. Shepard and by his literary bureau in the effort to make it appear that this is a national issue and a national election. Fortunately after twenty-five years of effort, those who are interested in municipal government and municipal reform have separated the city elections from the state and national contests. We do not this year elect members of Congress, nor state Senators; there is to be no election for United States Senator next winter and no one now elected is to pass upon that question. The assemblymen who go to Albany will go there to legislate purely upon state affairs; no national matter is to be considered in this canvass. A vote for Tammany or a vote against Tammany can by no stretch of imagination be a vote for tariff or for free trade, be a vote for the gold standard or for silver at sixteen to one, be a vote for the retention or the giving up of the Philip-

pires, be a vote for imperialism or anti-imperialism. The government of a city is like that of a business house or of a corporation; it is purely a matter of business from beginning to end. We have in this town 3,500,000 people. They cannot attend to the business of the municipality. They must, therefore, select, the same as the stock-holders of a bank or the stock-holders of any corporation do, the men who should manage their affairs. The voters of this town, the men of this town, go about their work, attend to their business whatever it may be, and rely and must rely upon the officials whom they select and elect to manage and administer the affairs of the city so that they shall be safe in their homes, in their property and in their lives; so that the health and sanitation of this great town may be properly looked after and the sewerage shall be done in the best manner possible; so that the police shall perform the great and important duties which rest upon these protectors of the public and that the Fire Department, and the Health Department, and the Charities Department and the Prisons Department shall all perform their work efficiently and economically; to so administer the docks that the commerce of the city may be encouraged and a proper revenue derived from them; to so administer the parks that people may find them a protected place for recreation for their women and their children; to so provide small parks that neighborhoods where it is difficult for the people to reach the distant parks may find near at hand places for recreation; and especially to provide the city with ample school facilities. It is a failure of good government when any child is deprived of a seat in the public schools and the opportunities for education and good citizenship which it is the duty of the city government to provide. All these great matters are purely subjects of business and business administration. Every man is interested to the extent, pecuniarily, that he is called upon to contribute his part, that his money shall be properly and honor-

ably collected and properly and honestly expended. Every sinecure where a lazy and worthless creature draws a salary, every piece of work which costs more than it would under private conditions and is so administered as to squander the revenues, is corruption and a crime.

Now, the expenses of the city have grown in the last four years \$28,000,000 a year; the salary list has grown \$9,000,000 a year. We are not shown any balance sheets; we are not given an exhibit of any results by which the citizen can learn or the taxpayer can know that he has received \$30,000,000 or \$30 worth for this great increase in the burdens of our people. It is one of the fallacies widely prevalent that the people who have no property but who work for salaries or wages are not interested in taxes. I have heard many men who live by salaries or wages say "I am glad when the taxes are high, because it makes the rich pay more and I want them to pay more into the public treasury and for public improvements." But in this administration of the last four years this \$28,000,000 of increase each year has not gone into public improvements nor been expended for the public benefit. As near as can be ascertained it has not gone to the 3,500,000 people and for their benefit, but in one form or another to the 4,000 office holders and to the contractors and their beneficiaries under Tammany Hall.

Taxes, like a stone thrown in the water, sink to the bottom. If they become oppressive to the rich or those sufficiently well-to-do to be able to move, they find a ready retreat to Westchester, to Long Island, to New Jersey or to Connecticut. The landlord adds the whole or a part of the taxes to the rent, and that increase is paid by the tenant. As the taxes increase so go up the rents for apartments, whether they are six rooms or one room for the house, whether it is great or small; so go up the rents for the store, the shop and the coal yard or the wood yard. The merchant adds the in-

creased rent to the things that he sells, so that in the end a very large proportion, and an unduly large proportion of the taxes of the community is paid by the people who are living closely upon their wages or their salaries. It appears in their increased rentals, in the increased cost for their clothing, in the increased prices for their food and for their coal and for their wood and for their ice.

I have no doubt, as a business man, that if the affairs of this great city could be administered upon business principles, like a great department store or a great railway, or a great banking house, this municipal business could be conducted for thirty per cent. less than its present cost. Now to so conduct it we have to choose between the experience of Mr. Shepard and the experience of Mr. Low. We will admit Mr. Shepard's ability as a lawyer, his integrity as a man. He never has managed great business enterprises or municipal business. Seth Low, on the other hand, was elected as a non-partisan and reform Mayor of the City of Brooklyn. He so conducted the business of that Municipality that he was almost the unanimous choice for a re-election. At the end of four years the City of Brooklyn was the model for all the municipalities of the country for the efficiency, the excellence and the economy of its government. He accepted the presidency of Columbia College. Columbia, the oldest of our state institutions and one of which our city and state and country should be proud, was a college, when Mr. Low became its President, with about twelve hundred students and less than one hundred instructors. At the end of twelve years he leaves it at the urgent call of his fellow citizens to help and serve them, but in that twelve years the University has grown until its buildings upon the Heights are the admiration of the city. Its instructors have increased to nearly three hundred and its students to nearly five thousand. With the rarest unselfishness and generosity, though by no means a rich man in the modern sense by which rich

men are reckoned, he gave one-half his fortune to the University, and its physical evidence is a library building which is one of the ornaments and sights of our great city, without which the University would be unequal to the present and to the great future which it has before it; and in addition be provided a fund so that for all time a large number of students, coming through our common and high schools, with the ability and ambition to make great careers in the world, will receive at Columbia free tuition. It is with this equipment, and not that of a critic only, and a professional reformer only, that Seth Low will come, full of experience, full of vigor and training and demonstrated ability, full of the profoundest sympathy with the people, to the administration and government of this great city.

I have read with grief the things that have been said against the police of New York. I know hundreds of them personally and I believe that the seven thousand policemen of this great city are, as a body, efficient, courageous and honest officers. But it is proved by the Committee of Fifteen, appointed by the general body of the citizens, of whom a majority are democrats, by the Committee of Five appointed by Tammany Hall, of whom all are democrats, by the records of the courts and by the trials before the Commissioner of Police, that conditions exist in certain districts in this city which are a disgrace to municipal government, which cast a stain and a cloud upon the fair name of our great town and which could not exist for twenty-four hours without the connivance and assistance and the protection of the police of those districts. I read the sentence passed upon the cadet of the Red Light district by Judge Foster, with its scathing denunciation, by Judge Newburger, with its scathing denunciation, by Judge Fursman, with its equally scathing denunciation, and there we find upon the records of the court that an industry has been carried on in these few districts which could not be

conducted in Bulgaria, or Roumania, or any one of the places where lawlessness is supposed to prevail, without exciting the indignation and horror of the civilized world. The Reverend Mr. Paddock swore, and his testimony is borne out by another distinguished clergyman and by Bishop Potter, that he called the attention of the police captain to these conditions and the police captain said these conditions did not exist, although they were carried on every day in front of the police station. It is demonstrated that young girls can be kidnapped and then sold into slavery, and from that slavery they cannot escape. When Captain Titus went down to that district he demonstrated that he could find out instantly who the kidnappers were, where the kidnapped were sold and secure their immediate release. A clergyman in Harlem tells a story which is so grotesque that it would be amusing except that nothing which violates law and order is ever amusing. He says that a gambling establishment was opened in the house adjoining the rectory or parsonage or manse of his church. That the noise became so great he went to the police station across the street and complained to the police captain and sergeant. They said they did not know of any gambling place there and did nothing in the matter. The clergyman then complained to the policeman on the block who said he must be mistaken. Then he went to the gambler himself. He felt so sure of his position and protection that he said, "Parson, I will paint my door white so that my patrons won't be ringing you up all night hereafter." No man supposes but that most of the policemen in that district hated the duty that was imposed upon them; hated that they should be deprived of the privilege of performing their duty; they were probably men of family, with daughters of their own and sons of their own, whom they wished protected. But their excuse is that the district leader has such power at headquarters, if they should perform their duty they would be transferred and sent to distant



posts far away from their homes, from their families and from their domestic life. The story of policeman O'Neil seems to prove that such has been the case. Of the thirty-six district leaders, if there are that number, thirty, or thirty-two or thirty-three may be gentlemen who never would permit such things in their district, but what we want is a municipal government which will not allow any one district leader, or all the district leaders together, or any combination whatsoever, the power to create any such conditions in any district or block of this city. We want to cure police ophthalmia, or color-blindness, and give a clearer and purer vision to the guardians of our peace, of our homes, of our lives, of our property, of our boys and of our girls.

Every business man, and every man in any way connected as an employee with a business, or a corporation, judge of its management by little quite as well as great things. Every city in the world, both large and small—I may say every village in the world— has for the convenience of its inhabitants and the guidance of strangers, street signs at the corners. This may seem a simple matter but there is none more important, both for the guidance of residents and strangers, and for the shop-keepers who wish to attract or to keep their customers. Alone of all places of all countries of this wide world, New York bears upon its street corners no indication by which one of its inhabitants, or a sojourner within its gates, can pilot himself and herself through the labyrinth of its highways. Familiar as I am with its streets I lose time every day in keeping appointments because I cannot recollect what sort of a looking house or store, or building marks the place near where I must get out of the surface car or the elevated train, and which is my only guide. I know that this is a tremendous handicap to the small storekeepers of the city. The great department stores can usually be found, but when a person wishes to purchase at a small establishment the trouble of finding it is so great that the purchase is abandoned.

A Tammany friend of mine said, "Well, why don't people take cabs?" I answered, "No one but Tammany office-holders can afford four or five dollars a day for cabs; besides, there are not cabs and carriages enough on the island to take care of those who are willing and able to employ them." Now, when such a glaring act of incapacity, or inability, or indifference, as you please to call it, insults the intelligence and injures the business and attacks the comfort of our citizens, it is almost as serious an indictment against the government of the city as many of the graver charges which are made.

Mr. Shepard, in his evasions of the vital issues of the campaign and in his effort to attract votes by generalizations has made only two statements of policy. They come dangerously near his definition of unconstitutionality, but as they are the only ones which he has made we must accept them as his platform. One is that he will see that ash-cans are removed from the streets, and the other is that he thinks the outburst of Chief Devery was indiscreet. But in his able and adroit presentation of his canvass, while stating that he takes back nothing he has ever said against Tammany Hall, he endeavors to minimize the charge by saying that Tammany was organized a hundred years ago as a charitable society. We are not concerned with what Tammany did one hundred years ago, but we do know that the Tammany of to-day does not meet the Scriptural definition of charity which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things for the sake of humanity." On the contrary, if it is a charitable organization it meets and fills better than any other which ever existed that definition of the cynic that, "True charity begins at home." He calls attention to the fact that in the hundred years of its existence great men have belonged to Tammany Hall. In our generation the two greatest and ablest democrats which our city has produced did belong to Tammany Hall. One of them was Samuel

J. Tilden, who left Tammany and organized the reform movement which drove that organization from power, its office holders from the country and put it out of politics for years. The other, Abram S. Hewitt, is usefully employing a serene and honored retirement by playing the schoolmaster to the naughty boy across his knee with a broad and vigorously applied ferule on Mr. Shepard for taking the Tammany nomination for Mayor. The one point that is most strongly dwelt upon, not only by Mr. Shepard, but by all the Tammany orators, is that Tammany stands for personal liberty, not only under a government by Tammany, but a government of Tammany, by Tammany, for Tammany; that only under Tammany can there be that liberty of the citizen which is granted by the constitution and set forth in brilliant language in the Declaration of Independence. The whole idea of American liberty, its sum and substance, is the equality of all men before the law, the equality of all women and of all children before the law. If one man is permitted to violate the law because he pays its guardians and another man is arrested because he does not, that is a violation of personal liberty. If one fruit vender is permitted to display his fruit on the sidewalk because he belongs to Tammany Hall and another is arrested because he votes for Seth Low, that is a violation of personal liberty. If licenses are given for the conduct of legitimate business which requires licenses, and then with this full liberty under the law to transact business that man who has to deplete his revenues and injure his family by paying tribute to inspectors or the police is a victim of a violation of personal liberty. If one architect can get privileges which another cannot, if one builder can get privileges which another cannot, if the public work is so managed that one contractor can always get it and another cannot, that is the grossest violation of personal liberty. Personal liberty means that the courts and the Mayor and the police and the authorities of every department shall devote them-

selves to the public interest and stand absolutely impartial as between individuals; that no matter what may be the politics, what may be the religion, what may be the race, what may be the native language of the citizen who has accepted our citizenship, he shall have absolute, unquestioned equality in the exercise of that calling by which he earns his living, supports his family and in doing that illustrates good citizenship. We find ourselves overwhelmed, and we have been for years overwhelmed with testimony that this personal liberty, absolute equality in the occupations, the business and the callings of our citizens does not exist in this great City of New York. Elect Seth Low and it will exist. Surround him in his election with those who are on the ticket with him and it will exist to a larger extent; give him a Board of Apportionment where he will have a controlling voice in the raising of the money, and the imposition of taxes, and it will exist.

Whatever may be said against the press, its whiteness or its yellowness, its tendency to sensationalism or its espionage into private affairs of individuals, the American press taken as a whole fairly represents public opinion, American morality, American standards of American public and private life. No such exhibition was ever seen or known before in a contest for the government of a great community like New York, a community which is larger than most states, as that we are now witnessing, where, without regard to affiliations of any kind, every newspaper but one of the dailies and every newspaper but one of the weeklies, is for the Fusion ticket. With the enormous power of Tammany Hall, with its boundless resources in money, if the press were venal or purchasable there would be a wide divergence of newspaper activities in a contest like this. But no country where free press exists has ever witnessed a more magnificent illustration of its independence than is seen in the unanimity with which our newspapers are acting

in this election. Such an exhibition, remarkable in itself, is not only an evidence, and the highest evidence, of journalistic independence, but it is the most crushing indictment that could possibly be framed against the continuance of the present city government and in favor of this Fusion movement by which the good men of all parties have united for the reformation of the City of New York and the good government of this great and glorious municipality.

When New York, by consolidation, became the second city of the world, the attention of the able men of all countries who are studying the municipal problem, which is the most acute one we have, was called to the new movement of popular government in great cities. The press of other lands devote more attention to New York City and the operations of its government than they do to all the rest of the United States put together. When they find that it costs nearly twice as much to govern New York as it does London, though London has twice as many inhabitants, they are astounded; when they are told, as they are by the newspapers, that notwithstanding that expenditure London gets more in all the business of municipal government—from the streets, from sanitation, from the police and fire departments, from the docks and public buildings than does New York, then their wonder is still more increased. When these indictments, sustained by evidence and by the verdicts of the courts, about complicity with vice are published in full and copied from our daily press and illuminated by the correspondents of the European journals in our midst, then every high-minded, right-minded and intelligent man who believes in government “of the people, by the people and for the people” is simply amazed at the result. The Londoner is enormously proud that he is a citizen of the foremost city in population, in wealth and in the concentration of all that makes for art and literature, in all that makes for opinion and brains and energy in the Old World. The

citizen of Paris—I may say the citizen of France—whenever he is abroad always gives his address as Paris because he is proud of the city. The same is true of the German in regard to his Berlin, his Frankfort and his Hamburg. The same is also true of the Austrian in regard to his Vienna, of the Italian in regard to his Rome, the Russian in regard to his St. Petersburg and his Moscow, of the Scotchman especially in regard to his Edinburg and his Glasgow, and the Irishman in regard to his Dublin, his Cork and his Belfast. There are no world wide scandals which meet the citizen of any of these cities when he travels among strangers, while the New Yorker wherever he goes is perpetually put upon an explanation. We all of us take pride in this great town. There is nothing like it and never has been. The Lord placed it at the gateway of the continent; its opportunities for commerce are unrivaled; through the Mohawk Valley to the lakes it draws the wealth and products and trade of a hemisphere; within its borders and through its gateways it is concentrating here the finance of the world, and New York is to dominate those movements, industrial and financial, which make or mar the happiness of millions upon millions of people. It is attracting the men and the women of brains, of energy, of ability with their pen and with their tongues, the men and the women who are and who are to be the teachers of the present and future generations for higher and better standards, for a higher and better life.

Under such a government as this great city is entitled to it would, when it reaches, which it will, the front rank among cities in population, be the beacon-light for humanity everywhere for all that stands for good government and all the blessings that flow from a proper appreciation of liberty and its opportunities.

## On the Occasion of the Hanging of His Portrait in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, November 28, 1901.

Albany, Nov. 28.—Senator Chauncey M. Depew came here to-day from New York to witness the placing upon the walls of the office of the Secretary of State in the Capitol of a portrait of himself made from a photograph taken in 1864, when Mr. Depew was Secretary of State. When Alonzo B. Cornell was Governor he initiated the work of securing and exhibiting in the rooms of the heads of State departments and bureaus the portraits of former holders of these offices, and as a result of this project nearly every room of a State official in the Capitol now has many valuable portraits on exhibition.

Several years ago Mr. Depew sent a portrait of himself to Albany at the request of the then Secretary of State, but, while the likeness was an excellent one, Mr. Depew was dissatisfied with it because it did not represent him as he looked when Secretary of State, but as he appeared thirty years later. In the interest of historical truth, Mr. Depew has had a portrait of himself painted from an old photograph, and this was substituted for the old one to-day. The artist who painted the first picture, Muller Ury, also painted the second one. Mr. Depew was twenty-nine years old when elected Secretary of State. The members of his family, Mr. Depew said to-day, think the portrait an excellent one.

There were many State officers present, among them Secretary of State McDonough, State Engineer Bond, State Treasurer Jaeckel, Deputy Secretary of State Morgan, and John N. Partridge, Superintendent of Public Works. When the portrait was put in place

Mr. McDonough asked Senator Depew to say something in relation to his career as Secretary of State. In response Senator Depew said, in part:

There are few of my contemporaries in office now living. Horatio Seymour was Governor, Lucius Robinson was Comptroller of the State, John Cochrane was Attorney-General, George W. Schuyler was State Treasurer, every one of them, I think, not less than twenty years older than myself; so that I am the only survivor of the State administration of that time. The average age of the members of the State administration and of the Legislature was about forty-five, and I was twenty-nine. Good politics, good habits, lots of work and plenty of fun make me just as vigorous now, thirty-seven years afterward, as I was on the day that picture was taken. Politics in public life has not changed in all these years. I notice the same anxieties for position, the same constant assurance on the part of the officeholder of his desire to return to the quiet neighborhood where he has always lived, the same disinclination to be taken at his word when the period comes around again.

The times are very much changed since then. That picture was taken in January, 1864; it was the last year of Mr. Lincoln's first administration. It seems impossible to picture that period so that any one can grasp the exciting conditions which prevailed at that time. War had been in progress for two years. New York State had three hundred thousand of its citizens soldiers in the war. The Presidential year was coming on with a hesitancy about naming Lincoln again—every one was asking whether Mr. Lincoln could be re-elected because of the many objections to the prolongation of the war.

Politics in our own State was uncertain. Governor Seymour had been elected in 1862 by a large majority. I ran ahead of the Republican ticket as Secretary of State and was elected by 30,000 majority. All of the Legislatures of all the States in 1864 passed laws per-



mitting the soldiers to vote. At that time the army numbered nearer two million than one million men, as was thought. In every other State but this the Governor was authorized to take the soldiers' vote. Seymour being a Democrat, the Legislature assigned to the Secretary of State the duty of taking the vote. Governor Seymour felt bad about it. He said he would like to join me in this function. I would have been very glad to have him, for partisanship has never been very bitter with me. But the Legislature was specific, and I knew the state of feeling in the State, and I said it was impossible for me to grant his request. I then went down to Washington for the purpose of getting the location of the different New York State troops for the purpose of securing their vote. Each State had a different process. The process adopted by our State was for the commanding officer of the regiment or company of New York soldiers to open the polls and have the vote cast, and then, under the proper directions, that vote was certified and sent to the polling places of the soldiers at home. There were two incidents connected with that soldier vote which I think I never have told, because people were living and they might be regretted if told.

When I was directed to get the soldiers' vote I went to the several express companies, and all declared that it was impossible to collect it; that there was no machinery by which a district canvass could be made, and the soldiers could not be reached and the ballots safely to the respective polling places. The New York State soldiers were situated in isolated posts and scattered in foraging and scouting expeditions. I was in despair. I went to the War Department and asked them if they could furnish any facilities by which this vote could be secured. I then went up to see Mr. Butterfield, father of General Daniel Butterfield, who was one of the original express managers in the United States. This office began originally with the cart and then the wagon, and finally has developed into one of the great-

est transportation agencies in the country. I explained the matter to Mr. Butterfield, and he said that an express company could do the work, or they should surrender their charter and abandon the business for which they were organized. He was an old man, seventy or eighty years of age, and he said that he would take personal charge of the distribution of the ballots and of the returns. There was not a single complaint that every company of New York State troops was not reached, nor as to the returns not coming back inviolate, and it was that vote which carried the State of New York for Mr. Lincoln in his second election.

After I had arranged for securing the ballots I went to Washington to see where the express companies would have to send the ballots in order to reach the various bodies of New York State troops. I expected to have no difficulty whatever in that matter. During those days, when I was engaged in this, I journeyed backward and forward between New York and Washington every night. One night—the state of the country was such that accidents were often happening—the train was crowded and all I could get was an upper berth. I found myself sailing along the roof of the car and the train had stopped. After a while I got out, and discovered that the car was on the wrong track; that some fifteen or twenty people had been killed and some forty or fifty had been wounded. Some Army surgeons who were on the train were doing the best they could for the injured. There was one soldier who met with a cut, so that the vein had opened and he was bleeding to death. A young medical student stepped up, got his thumb on the vein with a strong grip and it stayed there long enough to save the soldier's life. If this accident had happened now every paper in the country would have had an account of it the next morning, but there was no notice of that accident in any paper in the country.

I went to Mr. Stanton, who was the most imperious and ill-mannered public official I ever had the fortune

to meet. He absolutely refused to give me any information whatever. I went every day, to meet with the same answer. One day he said to me, after I had pressed him very much, and he got very angry: "Do you know, sir, that the New York State troops are in every command throughout the country, great and small? And if I give you the location of these regiments and companies in which they are, how do I know but that information might get into the hands of the enemy, and it would be of great importance to them in this campaign?"

I said to him: "Sir, I have never heard a remark like that before. I am going to New York to publish the fact that you refused to allow the New York State soldiers to vote. I want to put the responsibility where it belongs." He turned in his chair and apparently regarded that indifferently. As I was going out of the War Office in a towering rage—a thing very rare for me; I believe I have only been angry twice in my life, and that was one of the times—I met Mr. Washburn, who was a member of Congress. He said to me: "Well, Chauncey, what in the world is the matter with you? Has everything gone to pieces?" and I told him my story. He said: "What are you going to do?" I replied: "I am going to take the first train to New York and publish this fact to the people of the State."

"Now," he said, "why didn't you go to the President?" I said I did not want to bother the President. I saw the Secretary of War. "Well," he said, "you should have seen Mr. Lincoln. He is a great President and a great patriot, but he is a great politician, and would go around personally with a carpet bag and collect those votes himself if there was no other way. You remain here until I come back." So I waited until Mr. Washburn reappeared and said, "Mr. Depew, you will find no further trouble in regard to the matter which you came here to accomplish, if you will call on the Secretary of War." Well, I told him that I had already called on the Secretary of War with unfavor-

able results. He said: "But I do not think you have called on him as yet. No, you did not meet the Secretary of War; you met Mr. Stanton." So I went into the Secretary's office and he said: "Good morning; are you Mr. Depew, Secretary of State of New York?" I told him that was my name and office. He said: "I am glad to see you. What can I do for you?"

After trying for three or four days to influence this gentleman to be received in the way that I was, I thought this was the best joke of the season. I told him that the Legislature of New York had passed a law to secure the soldiers' vote, and that the Secretary of State of New York had been directed to secure that vote. He said: "There is no reason why this cannot be done, and if you will take this card to Colonel Somebody I think you will find no difficulty." I said: "Mr. Secretary, I wish to express the acknowledgments of the State of New York for your kindness and the quick way in which you have favored them." He said it was only in the line of duty, and no acknowledgments were necessary. I went to this Colonel's office and handed him the card. He said: "Are you Secretary of State Depew? What do you want?" I said: "I want to know the location of each company of New York State troops, so that the ballots can be transmitted and the returns got back." That night I came back to New York with the addresses of the three hundred thousand soldiers of the State of New York.

Mr. Depew then referred to his life in Albany as two of the most charming years of his life. At the close of his term of office as Secretary of State he was nominated and confirmed as Minister to Japan. On the other hand, Commodore Vanderbilt offered him the place of counsel to the Harlem Railroad at the salary of \$2,000 a year. Commodore Vanderbilt said to him: "There is nothing in politics; railroads are the great business of the future for a young man. Don't be a fool."

Mr. Depew said he took Commodore Vanderbilt's

advice and accepted the office of attorney for the Harlem Railroad, and had never regretted it. He then concluded his speech with an expression of the pleasure he had taken in life. Secretary of State McDonough in behalf of the State officers thanked Senator Depew heartily for his gift.



At the Opening of the South Carolina Inter-  
State and West-Indian Exposition,  
at Charleston, South Carolina,  
December 2, 1901.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This exhibition is the triumph of revolution and evolution. There has been no period since the Colony of South Carolina adopted the theoretical but impracticable charter prepared by the great philosopher, John Locke, in 1674, down to the Treaty of Paris with Spain in 1899, when this happily conceived enterprise was possible until now. It is an omen of future development and prosperity for Charleston that the moment its citizens saw the time had come they entered upon this beneficent work with patriotism, courage and confidence. It required nearly a century and a half of struggle and preparation before there existed an industrial and manufacturing South in the United States, and Spanish Islands in the Caribbean Sea free and independent to meet upon the common ground of united welfare and reciprocal benefits.

The Huguenot settlement was of incalculable influence upon the destiny of this State and its sister commonwealths. They differed from all the Colonists of the seventeenth century. At a time when people were not safe except under the protection of a strong government, these exiles had neither home nor country. They could not return to their own, and their King denied them protection in foreign lands. With all past ties severed, they became a loyal part of every community in which they settled. They brought to their new homes an intense love for religious liberty, education, refinement, domestic virtues, skill in all the handicraft of the age and a lofty spirit and chivalric courage. They gave in larger

measure than existed elsewhere sentiment and imagination to the character and characteristics of these settlements. With this strain in the vigorous and aggressive Saxon and Celtic stock, South Carolina became naturally a leader in the stirring movements of the century, in those political battles which were fraught with such momentous consequences and in the decisive action which risked everything on the hazards of war. So, now when opportunity offers, she comes again to the front in this superb effort for the industrial and commercial prosperity of the South.

Before the Civil War the South was purely agricultural and had none of that varied production necessary to the expanding interchanges of commerce, but now she is rapidly developing her unequalled natural resources and entering with vigor and success the field of domestic and foreign competition. The founders of the Republic failed to make clear in their Constitution the fundamental principles of our government, and left for posterity the solution of the crucial problems of our national existence. Until these questions were settled the United States had no peace within its borders and no place or power in the family of nations. Environment and industries created the hostile schools of centralization and state sovereignty, which, after seventy-three years of high debate, submitted their differences to the arbitrament of arms.

While the growth of such a country as ours, with so enterprising a population, could not be stopped, yet its healthy and proportionate development was always dependent upon the settlement of the supreme question whether our Republic was a nation or a compact between sovereign states. Not only our progress, our position among nations, our existence as a great power and our peace, were in peril, but the hopes of humanity all over the world were endangered by the contest. The great debate was carried on by two of the most remarkable intelligences and ablest statesmen of this or any other country—John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster. Hamilton could never have brought to the support of his idea the majestic eloquence of Webster, and Jefferson could



not have defended and expounded his opinion with the logical acumen and creative and luminous genius of Calhoun. Thousands gave their lives on bloody battlefields on one side and the other for the principles for which these giants contended. To-day we can all calmly, without prejudice and without passion, philosophically review the past, and in the glorious fruition of the present devoutly thank God that we are one people, under one government, and following one flag.

In 1866, having been appointed United States Minister to Japan, I made an exhaustive study of that country. It had the feudal institutions of the Middle Ages. The great lords with their armed retainers both supported and intimidated the throne. Its soldiers fought in armor, and its fleet had not progressed beyond the galley and the caravel. Contact with Western civilization led to such rapid adoption of the triumphs of the nineteenth century that in thirty-five years Japan had a consitutional monarchy and representative parliament, an army as effective as Germany and a fleet which made her one of the naval powers of the world. This marvelous transformation was accompanied by railroads, telegraphs, telephones, electric lights, and tramways, schools and colleges, and a free press. Japan has apparently attained in a third of a century the results which six hundred years of fearful struggles had won for Europe. But Japan had a civilization older than that of the Continent, the accumulated wealth of ages, a literature which antedated movable types, and a homogeneous people skilled in agriculture, manufactures and the arts. With her it was rather an adaptation than an evolution or revolution.

The Southern States in 1866 were facing a series of disasters and calamities unparalleled in modern times. Their wealth was destroyed, their working capital lost, their farms devastated, their cities and villages in ruins, and they were without manufactures or industries. The problem of adjusting to their political, social and economic conditions a suddenly emancipated slave population of nearly equal numbers, which had been granted

every civil right, including suffrage, demanded immediate attention. The unconquerable and invincible grit and pluck of the American were never more splendidly illustrated. Orderly government has been established, education fostered, agriculture revived, railroads constructed, mines opened, new industries builded and the riches and resources of the land brought out. The farm wealth has grown from a nominal to a real value of three thousand millions of dollars. In the place of no manufacturing industries, a thousand millions of dollars have built and equipped mills, factories and furnaces, whose annual output is one thousand five hundred millions, and rapidly increasing. The New South, regenerated and disenthralled, contributed in 1900 to the wealth and prosperity of our country two thousand five hundred millions of tons of iron, forty million tons of coal, seven hundred and thirty-six million bushels of grain, and eleven million two hundred and seventy-four thousand bales of cotton. The gold and silver and precious stones, whose quest brought Columbus across the ocean and inspired the adventures of De Leon and De Soto, become the commonplaces of commerce, compared with the present reality and future possibilities of this annual fruitage of a territory blessed with exhaustless treasures in fields, mines and water power, which are owned and controlled by people who have displayed the genius and energy, the initiative and wise working which have produced these marvelous results.

Electricity and steam, the instantaneous circling of the globe with news and rapidity in transportation have made one market for all the world. Reduction of cost and superiority of workmanship are the factors of modern competition. Building the cotton mill beside the cotton fields and the furnace and steel factories by the ore and coal are redistributing industrial centers. Upon these lines, and by the application of these principles, the South, from no place in 1866, has come to the front in the production of iron and coal, and while New England and the Western States have practically reached the profitable limit and are standing still in the expansion

of the manufacture of cotton goods, there has been the phenomenal increase of one million three hundred and seven thousand spindles during the year 1900 in the Carolinas and their neighboring commonwealths. Capital and enterprise, which are utilizing wood for its varied purposes—industrial, domestic and commercial—are converting the vast pine forests of this rich territory into settlements of thrift, productiveness and happiness. Apart from the broader conception of its creation, this Exhibition would worthily justify its existence as a celebration of the most wonderful contribution to the most remarkable of centuries. Surely, nothing in the story of the rise, decay and resurrection of nations equals the development and progress in the last third of the nineteenth century of the States which are bounded by the Ohio and Potomac Rivers on the north, the Gulf of Mexico on the south, the Mississippi on the west, and the Atlantic Ocean on the east.

But this Fair is more than a memorial of the glories of the era which recently closed so brilliantly. It confidently and hopefully enters the twentieth century with the high and patriotic mission of promoting closer and mutually beneficent relations with neighboring countries and communities. The teachings of this industrial exhibition, carried by visitors from the West India Islands and the South American States to their homes, will enforce the lessons of reciprocity and open here and there new and growing markets.

Experience has often demonstrated that travelers who have circled the earth in search of coveted treasures, returning weary and despairing from their adventures, have found richer fortunes at home. We are sailing the seas and craving entrance for the surplus of our labor among strange peoples on the other side of the globe. All the nations of Europe are striving for a share or possession of the markets of the East, and we are eagerly claiming a place in the race. Mystery and distance have so fired our imaginations and filled our minds that we have neglected the opportunities at our doors. Our trade with the West India Islands has received little encouragement.

It has been the theme of neither the writer, the orator nor the statesman, and Congress has been too busy with telescopic visions to use its unaided eyes. In 1900 our exports to the West Indies were greater than to all the Republics of South and Central America together, greater than to all the Far East, and greater than to all the countries of Continental Europe combined, leaving out Germany and France. And yet, while Canada buys sixty per cent. of all her imports from the United States, the West Indies only purchase twenty, and South America ten per cent.

The Spanish Islands, by far the most important of the seventy which constitute the West Indies, were subject to restrictions by the mother country which deprived them of all liberty of trade. Cuba, one of the most productive countries in the world, has claimed the earnest attention of every generation of American statesmen. Jefferson urged its acquisition with all his powers, both for itself and as the key to the Gulf of Mexico. At repeated intervals since then the master mind of the hour has sought excuse and opportunity for its purchase or conquest. The revolutions which have marked the progress of our country in its hundred and twenty years of independent government have been intensely dramatic—none more so than, none so clearly the guidance of an all-wise Providence as the war with Spain. Spanish misrule had passed the limit of quiet observation, on our part, of its oppressions and cruelties. Protest was precipitated into hostilities by the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, and in a hundred days Spain had lost her three-hundred-year grip on the Western Hemisphere, and the Philippine Archipelago. Porto Rico is ours, and having been placed upon a sound financial basis, is now reaping the advantages of free entry into our markets, and corresponding privileges of purchase in ours for her needs.

We have assumed grave responsibilities in Cuba. Under the wise exercise of our protection, she is soon to be an independent State. Americans with American capital and American enterprise will in larger numbers every

year become her citizens and develop her wonderful agricultural and mineral resources. We must give her the help and encouragement of beneficial concessions for her leading products. The wealth we thus create will be spent here for the railway and electrical supplies, the machinery and tools, the textile fabrics and agricultural implements required for her increasing population and wants. With Cuba this southern country is open to relations of incalculable benefit to both.

Reciprocity has been a popular, but undefined idea in American politics. Its possibilities have captured our imagination. Its practical and beneficial limits have never been revealed. Where it brings the highly organized industries and cheap labor of other countries in competition in our markets with our own, the scheme will not be adopted. Bargains are never one-sided among shrewd dealers, and in large and in detail, reciprocity is a bargain. But with the West India Islands, and most, if not all, the South and Central American Republics, and Mexico, it is our plain duty to offer such mutual advantages by tariff concessions as will draw them to us, and give us in return the better position for our products among their people. We cannot expect that the British colonies in the Western Hemisphere will forever purchase sixty per cent. of their importations from the United States with little corresponding buying on our part from them. We must keep and foster this vast commerce by liberal recognition, for British America bought from us in 1900 \$117,191,302, as against \$88,842,130 from Mexico and all the Central and South American Republics, and \$26,934,524 from Cuba. The balance of trade in our favor with Canada last year was \$62,588,807, while the balance against us with South America was \$61,458,582.

Of the three great owners of the Americas, Great Britain has three hundred thousand more square miles than the United States, and the Spanish-speaking peoples nearly twice the area of our territory, including Alaska and Porto Rico. The population of this vast section of the earth is twenty millions less than that of this Republic. It is capable of comfortably sustaining hundreds of mil-

lions of inhabitants. The genius of the twentieth century will build highways through, and bring out the productive powers of these wildernesses. The ever-growing wants of increasing settlements will call for the steel and iron and wood and textile manufactures in which we are supreme.

The reason that Canada, with five millions, is a better customer of ours than eighteen sister republics of Spanish origin, with fifty-three millions of people, is not wholly due to language, institutions or contiguity. Europe holds its grip upon ninety per cent. of the markets of these countries, notwithstanding the wonderful progress in the last decade of the United States in the output and superiority of its manufactures. We are breaking down barriers and winning industrial triumphs in Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, but are still unsuccessful beggars in our own Hemisphere.

Our failure to capture or hold what is legitimately our own is due to the fact that we have abandoned the sea. Our country, with its superb energy and limitless productive powers, but without an adequate merchant marine, is like Hercules chained to his forge, or an eagle clipped of its wings. Until ships under the American Flag are carrying American merchandise and establishing routes and ports and banking facilities for American commerce, we cannot possess or enjoy our inheritance. When the Isthmian canal is opened, built, owned and controlled, as it will be, by the United States, our poverty on the ocean will make it the opportunity of our rivals. The day ought to be near—it should be hastened by this Exhibition—when American fleets, carrying the surplus of the harvests of the South from her fields, her forests, and factories, and returning with responding cargoes from the West Indies, and South, North, and Central American countries will utilize for our national wealth, patriotism and pride, the superb harbor and convenient location of Charleston.

These conditions make it important and imperative that we maintain the Monroe Doctrine. This American principle of international law is not a

menace. It leaves intact and unmolested the titles and sovereignty of all the European powers possessing territories on this side of the Atlantic. But since it was promulgated, December 2d, 1823, it has been notice and warning that no sovereignty of the old world can enlarge its area or acquire new lands in the New. Now that we have become among the foremost of nations, and our commerce, already so vast, is rapidly expanding in every quarter of the globe, we are more than ever, by principle, heredity and self-interest, advocates of peace. But if one of the great powers should acquire naval stations, harbors and bases of supplies, so as to command the eastern and western side of the Isthmian canal, it would be a perpetual peril to our coasts, our communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, our most important coastwise commerce, our deep-sea traffic and our merchant marine. It would endanger the future of the results of which this Fair is the forerunner. The Monroe Doctrine in its integrity is Peace. A navy so strong that none would care or dare to test its force and validity will keep the peace. Our only demand on Cuba for our services and sacrifices for her liberty and independence has been that neither weakness nor cupidity shall ever permit her to let a foreign power own and construct impregnable batteries about a port and have iron-clads in its harbors within Cuban boundaries.

As we recall here to-day the events which have culminated in the marvelous material prosperity we celebrate, we must recognize the educational influence and spiritual significance of this gathering. The formation of gigantic corporations, the accumulation of fortunes beyond the romancing of all the ages, and the scattering of homes, competence and better living over the land as if they were seed from a sower, carried over plains and mountains by the wind, have temporarily shut from view all the purposes of liberty except its money-making opportunities. Mammon is an incident of our rapid development, but not the spirit which has made this Republic the freest, strongest and happiest nation of the world. Happily, the church, the university, the college, and the school

have grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength. When greed is god, and to make a fortune the only aspiration and exertion of life, its inequalities breed discontent or socialism or anarchy. We possess an intelligent apprehension of the beneficence of the equality of all before the law, the advantages of education, common, classic, and technical, giving which promotes independence, charity which cares for the disabled, careers in fields of high thinking and living, food for soul, mind and body, and comforts of home and travel unknown to our fathers.

The founders of our nation, whether kneeling on Plymouth Rock in the snows of a New England winter, or confronting an unknown wilderness and hostile savages at Jamestown, or on the banks of the Ashley, devoutly expressed and confirmed their faith in the goodness of God. We are their heirs, the heirs of a nobler heritage than ever before came to any people, in plenty where they were in poverty, in light where they were in darkness, the strongest where they were the weakest, the safest where they were in most danger, the happiest in everything which makes earth a paradise, where they had every discomfort and no encouragement but unquestioning faith in the future. The lessons of this wondrous story are not only inspiration for us in the new century, but as they penetrate the islands and countries about us they will strengthen the ties of neighborhood and brotherhood.

— No review of the one hundred and fourteen years of our existence as a nation, and contemplation of its perils, triumphs, and results, would be complete without tribute and reverence for the Constitution of the United States. This great charter of rights and liberties has alone survived the revolutions which have overturned or radically changed every other government since it was adopted. Except as to the amendments necessitated by the civil war, it remains as it came from the hands of its framers. Wise and far-sighted as were its authors, they never dreamed that in it were the powers which would carry and sustain the Republic through foreign wars and domestic strife, and be as perfectly equal to the government



and wants of a continent and islands on the other side of the globe and peoples alien in race and civilization, as it was for the young and sparsely settled states on the Atlantic for whom it was created. Its deathless spirit has marched with the years and kept pace with progress in the advancement of human rights, the assimilation of millions from foreign lands, the growth of great cities, the mutations of intelligence and the changes in laws and customs necessitated by steam and electricity. To some it has been a Fetich, and to others a Frankenstein. But, unlike Shelly's masterpiece, it is endowed with a soul, and has been the source of blessing instead of a curse.

A large majority of the Constitutional Convention believed it to be a compact between sovereign states and voidable by their people. But events demonstrated that it possessed every attribute of sovereignty and perpetual life. It has permitted acts and measures which our ablest statesmen pronounced in their day destructive of society or the Republic, and made them promote the best interests of the one and the strength of the other. Calhoun dreaded the horrors which he believed would follow emancipation of the slaves; Webster was very hostile to further territorial expansion and fearful of dangers he believed might follow. Emancipation has proved the salvation of the section which South Carolina's statesman loved, and lived and died for, and the extension of our boundaries to the Gulf, the Pacific and the Arctic Circle is the universally recognized source of the happy population, power, prestige and wealth of our country. Some of the purest patriots among our contemporaries have had the same terror because of their belief in the lack of constitutional authority for our rescue and government of Cuba, our taking of Hawaii, our possession and administration of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

Our first and greatest jurist, John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, built a nation of limitless powers for preservation and growth from the generalizations of the Constitution. Following the lines thought out by his genius, that Court has in that immortal instrument found authority for the wants of each generation.

So, we here, bowing to its latest decision, lay aside our different theories of constitutional construction, to welcome Porto Rico and her products, to bid all hail to Cuba, and to prepare for the culture and utilization of the markets of Hawaii and the Philippines, and of the near-by Orient from the vantage of Manila for the ever-increasing surplus of our labor, which will paralyze our industries unless it can energize them by outlets and purchasers.

Radical differences of creed and temperament created out of men of the same race and country the Puritan and the Cavalier. The harsh, forbidding, almost unconquerable obstacles of the New England wilderness and climate intensified the unbending doctrines, the stern purposes, the temperate life and invincible determination of the Puritans. The semi-tropical luxuriance and easy adaptation of the South gave opportunity for the elegance, the social pleasures, the sports of field and forest, the generous hospitality and stately homes which the Cavalier loved. A high and common aspiration for freedom made them comrades on the battlefields of the Revolution, and Lincoln from Massachusetts and Green from Rhode Island fought with Marion and Moultrie and Sumpter over these hills and plains. They were in elbow-touch facing the enemy in the War of 1812, and in storming the heights of Chapultepec and the walls of the city of the Montezumas. Both willing to die for what they believed the right, Federals and Confederates after four years of bloody battles became friends as only soldiers can who mutually respect each other's courage and conscience. At Manila and Santiago, and charging against Spanish batteries and intrenchments on the hills of Cuba, they were again emulous comrades and eager patriots following the old Flag.

The spur of necessity created out of Puritan education and conditions a race of restless state builders and pioneers, inventors, merchants and artisans, and the most successful organizers of industries of any age or country. Their genius for enterprises on shore and sea, and the unequalled opportunities of our land, have given them vast wealth, and with it luxury and ease. When, after

the exhaustion of the civil war, the spur of necessity pricked the skin of the Cavalier, the mettle, resourcefulness and pluck of the race were found unimpaired. Then came the exercise of qualities which overcome all obstacles, develop resources, and energize and enrich communities. The East is surrendering its spindles and the Middle States its furnaces, and they are giving a new and broader and healthier life to the South. The past is but a suggestion of the future of our united country. Sectional lines have disappeared and jealousies and prejudices have worn away. The nineteenth century has opened exhaustless avenues for spiritual, mental and material progress in the United States. Our mission in the twentieth is their extension over the new world.



**Memorial Address on President McKinley at the  
Lincoln Anniversary Banquet of the  
Republican Club of New York,  
February 12, 1902.**

GENTLEMEN :

William McKinley was the product and representative of that development of Americanism which has aroused intense interest and discussion at the commencement of the twentieth century. Industrial America owes more to him than any other statesman. Though never a business man or an employer of labor, he created those enterprises which have given unequalled position, wages and work to his countrymen. Though never a manufacturer, he gave the impulse and opportunity for manufacturers which have placed the surplus of the mills and factories of the United States in the markets of the world, and given them success not only in the competitive countries of the East, but upon the soil and alongside the most highly organized industries of Europe. Though always a poor man, and leaving an estate which was the result only of the savings from his salary as President and his life insurance, he made possible the gigantic fortunes which have been amassed by master minds in the control, use and distribution of iron, coal, oil, cotton and wool and their products. Though never an organizer or beneficiary of combinations or trusts, yet the constant aggregation of most industries in vast corporations of fabulous capital, while due to tendencies of the age and common to all countries, received tremendous acceleration from his policies. The dominant idea which governed his public life was that measures which brought out our national resources and increased our national wealth added to the security, comfort and happiness of every citizen. Some might profit more than others, but every one shared in greater or less degree in the general prosperity. Pride in

his country and love for his people were the mainsprings of his career. The period of impressionable youth was passed in Ohio, which was a storm center of slavery agitation and Union controversy. He heard all about him the mutterings of the coming storm which was to put to the test of arms the existence of the Republic. Slavery became to him not only the sum of abominations, but the one and only menace to the union of the states. He was an eager listener to the fiery speeches of that remarkable body of advocates of freedom led by Joshua Giddings and Benjamin Wade. Webster's immortal speech in reply to Hayne for "Liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever," became embedded in his mind and heart. With this preparation, though only seventeen years of age when the Civil War broke out, nothing could keep him from enlistment and impulsive patriotism swept away all objections to his youth.

The temptations of the camp, the march and the foray and the perils of battle tested the character and courage of this boy to the uttermost. But the religious training of a pious mother and a godly father, and his absorbing attachment to the cause of liberty and union, kept him as pure in thought and action as if in the associations of home, or in the emulous and invigorating studies and companionship of school and college.

McKinley the soldier moulded McKinley the statesman. For four years the one object before him, at sunrise and sunset, leading the way in toilsome marches, its folds illuminating the tented field, and inspiring defense and assault, was the flag. It was dearer to him than life, and for it he repeatedly risked his life. It stood for country, home and liberty. It became sacred in his eyes, and he followed it with devotion amounting almost to adoration. He rarely, in after years, ever made a speech which did not have some affectionate or patriotic allusion to Old Glory. It fixed his career and public life. Where he could advance the best interests of the Republic became his aim and ambition.

But the army developed and strengthened another characteristic. The comradeship of the camp appealed to

his sympathetic nature. His fellow soldiers were more than comrades; they were intimate friends. He knew them in health and in the hospital, in the fury of the fight and the exhaustion of wounds and disease. He was first at their side when in danger or distress and the soul of sport at the feast or the jollification. Thus he became in its best sense a lover of his fellow men.

No official was ever so considerate of the feelings of others. He delighted in the bestowal of office and was grieved when he had to deny the applicant. His greatest pleasure was in meeting and greeting his countrymen and countrywomen. Whether they were friends or strangers, that cordial grasp, that kindly smile, that honest interest in every one who came near him, sent both the successful and disappointed from his presence feeling that the meeting was itself a decoration. It was the irony of fate that the most lovable and the best loved man who ever attained the Presidency should die at the hands of an assassin.

But the game of war could not interest this most sympathetic of men. No matter how great his own sorrows or troubles, those of a friend at once claimed his care, and his were, for the time, forgotten. Confidence in another and ignorance of business drew from him the endorsement of notes which swept away his little property and involved him in a mountain of indebtedness. His wife threw her estate into the vortex, and they were bankrupt at a period in life when to take up a profession or engage in business successfully is impossible. He was full of resentment, but when the friend through whom he had suffered explained the terrible results of his failure to himself and his family, McKinley burst into tears—he had no thought except for the rescue of the man—and cried, “We must find a way to save you. We will find a way to save you.”

Americanism with him meant the victories of peace. To see the United States controlling its own markets and successfully competing with other nations in the markets of the world was his idea of the true glory of his country. That Americans had won in the bids for a bridge over the Nile, or rails for Russian roads, or cars for Australia, or had introduced successfully agricultural machines and electrical

appliances on the Continent of Europe and textile fabrics in Great Britain, gave him more pride and pleasure than any possible triumph on land or sea. He would exhaust every resource of diplomacy and adopt every measure of conciliation and arbitration before going to war.

He entered Congress at the most critical period of our legislative history. The pacification of the nation, the reconstruction of the states, the welding of the broken bonds of union into a free Republic which should be as loyally supported by those who had sought to destroy as by those who had fought to save it, and financial and industrial problems upon whose successful solution rested the whole fabric of prosperity, were the questions to be met.

The happiness of the American home and the welfare of the individual American citizen were the aims of McKinley. He believed that in industrial success were good character, good habits and good citizenship. Employment which should be easily attainable for everybody upon a remunerative and ascending scale of wages, making it possible for energy, industry and intelligence to buy and maintain a cottage or a farm, dotting the land with enterprises which would develop the resources or power of the neighborhood, and bringing farms and factories together, were his remedies for all national ills, his methods for insuring national greatness and a contented people. A large number of his countrymen differed widely with him in the measures by which he sought to accomplish these beneficent ends, but they did not question the purity of his purposes or the sincerity of his convictions. He thus became the most eloquent and convincing advocate of the policy of a protective tariff and the embodiment and representative of the principle of fostering by legislation industrial development. Three statesmen served long together in the House of Representatives and left lasting impressions on the history of the country. They were William McKinley, James A. Garfield and James G. Blaine. The ambition of each was to be President of the United States. Two attained that distinction and Blaine lost the great prize by an accident when it was within his grasp. They were rivals, but loyal friends, and their emulous strife



never impaired their relations or their efforts for the one who for the time was the favorite of their party. Blaine was a picturesque and brilliant leader, with a rare talent for the initiative in formulating policies which won popular favor, and in devising measures to meet popular demands. His alert genius was quick to see and seize advantages in foreign or domestic policies. Garfield was rather a parliamentary than a popular leader. His field was in Congress, in the appeal for and the defence and management of the bills which the caucus and its committees had decided must pass. Their labors covered the whole field of debatable questions and party activity. McKinley possessed the greater industry and steadfastness of purpose. He bent all the power of a superior intelligence to the perfection and triumph of the principle in whose practical application he believed lay the security and prosperity of the country. In large and in detail he was a profound student of economic problems. While he had neither the training nor the temperament for success in business he knew better the conditions and prospects, at home and abroad, of every branch of industry than those who had spent their lives in its development and accumulated fortunes by their sagacity. He could not practically conduct any trade, but was able to suggest and provide laws for the benefit of all manufactures so wise and beneficent that the captains of industry bowed to his judgment and followed his lead. His profound knowledge of these questions, his eagerness to have the people agree with him, and his deep convictions gave an earnestness and force to his advocacy which educated an orator of uncommon power. He was not magnetic like Blaine nor emotional like Garfield, but there was wonderful force in his eloquence. An honest, earnest, sympathetic speaker, master of his subject and possessed of a singularly lucid style, he pleaded like an evangelist for the material salvation of the people. Much speaking on the same subject gave his efforts an axiomatic style which coined maxims and phrases that became part of the current thought and common language of the country. While he never rose to the majestic heights of Webster's reply to Hayne, he was always immensely interesting, and at times it seemed, in

the splendor of his speech, that by a supreme effort he might advance one step further and stand beside the immortal orators of inspired genius.

Most public men cultivate seclusion, and owe much to a fascinating mystery which surrounds them; but McKinley delighted in crowds. While with singular unanimity the people dread the assembling of Congress and regard its adjournment as a blessing, he was never so happy as when the national legislature was in session. If a Senator or Member of the House failed to appear frequently, he noted his absence and gently chided him. He was just as glad to see and greeted as cordially his political opponents as his friends. The representatives of the people were for him—the telephones of public opinion. No president has ever had such influence with Congress. His ability to allay strife in his own party and win support from the other was marvelous. The disappointed office-seeker nursing a grievance and lying in wait for vengeance, and the most stubborn opponent, were alike clay in his hands. In that forum, Congress, where every other president has repeatedly been foiled, McKinley never suffered defeat.

His faith in the public intelligence and conscience was supreme. He believed the people knew more than any man, no matter how great his talents or opportunities. He never tried to lead, but studied so constantly public opinion that he became almost infallible in its interpretation. Great audiences in the open were his intelligence offices. He would mingle with the crowd as a man and a brother. He could not comprehend that the world held a wretch so depraved or a criminal so vile as to abuse the simple and sacred trust which a president thus put in the people who had chosen him for their ruler. And yet one, defaming and degrading a righteous cause, aimed a frightful blow at liberty—the liberty of intercourse between citizens and their chief magistrate—when he accepted hospitality and welcome to murder the most eminent and best loved of the people.

The presidency did not change or elevate the tribune. The dignity of the office was never better sustained, but its majesty was concealed. Familiar speech and caressing

touch were there for all, and with them an indefinable reserve of power and of the respect due the office which kept the dullest and most audacious within rigid limits of propriety and decorum. The vast majority are lonesome in crowds; he could not bear to be alone. His pleasure in the long journeys across the continent was when the train stopped and the whole population surged around him. When the local committee, proud of the palaces of their wealth, their public buildings, art galleries and libraries, tried to show them, he cared not, and demanded to be taken to the wharfs where the fleets of commerce were loading and unloading the interchanges of the country and the world, to the mills, the factories, the furnaces and the mines. He did not like the pomp of glittering parades, but the farmer afield with plow or scythe or sower or mower or reaper, or a procession of artisans hurrying to or contentedly leaving their work, carried him to joyous heights of enthusiasm and happiness.

The prolonged financial and industrial depression which preceded his election was the opportunity he at once saw and seized. The slogan he had sounded as a citizen, as an orator, and as a Congressman, now rang from the White House with a clarion clearness which aroused the country. It was to him the triumphal hour of faith and works. In his impatience for the trial of his favorite theories, he did his best to prevent the war with Spain. He detested war, and he shrank with horror from its cruelties and with dread from the interruptions of industries it usually entails. When the country would not wait his efforts for peace, he pushed preparations for war, and forced the fighting with a wise and resistless energy which recalled the best efforts of Carnot and of Stanton. His favorite recollection of the Civil War was not the many bloody and heroic struggles in which he bore an honorable part, not the promotions which came to him for gallantry in action, but that in the heat of battle at Antietam he had loaded his commissary wagon with food and coffee, and calmly driving amidst the storm of shot and shell, had brought succor and relief to the survivors of his comrades who had been fighting steadily for many hours. His supreme satisfaction in the result of

the Spanish war; more than its wonderful conquests, was its bloodless victories.

The story of government is a pathetic recital of the neglected opportunities of statesmen. The crisis passes which, wisely turned, would have added to the glory and greatness of the country. The United States has been singularly rich in men for emergencies. Though lacking the heredity, experience and training of the Old World, they have been illustrious examples of wonderful achievement. Washington had no predecessor and left no successor. Hamilton provided the principles for a strong government with no precedents to guide him, and from them grew the Constitution and Union, which John Marshall perfected by his matchless decisions, Webster made popular by his majestic eloquence and Lincoln saved by rare native gifts and unequaled genius for guiding a nation through the perils of civil war and the destructive forces of evolution.

The triumphant issue of the war with Spain lifted our country in a hundred days from the isolation of the Western Hemisphere and the confines of a continent to the responsibilities of colonial empire and a foremost position in the family of nations. The President had never been abroad, never given any attention to foreign affairs or the government of alien peoples, and for forty years had concentrated his mind upon purely domestic questions. Action must be taken, and immediately, or we had to acknowledge that our institutions were wanting in elasticity for the situation, and in the essential elements of sovereignty which constitute government, and we as a people were unequal to the peaceful administration of the results of the victories of our army and navy. With the calmness of conscious power, without effort which might excite the public and create financial distrust and industrial paralysis, the President so wisely formulated measures for the pacification of Cuba, and preparations for its independence, and for the government of the Philippines, Hawaii and Guam, that the most delicate and difficult task of creating constitutions and institutions under untried conditions seemed to an astonished and satisfied country to be the ordinary processes of peaceful administration.

William McKinley entered upon the presidency at a period of greater distress in every branch of industry and employment than had ever before been experienced. He died when prosperity had assumed proportions in productions, in domestic trade and foreign commerce, in the accumulation of national and individual wealth and in the happy condition of wage-earners, beyond the dreams of the most enthusiastic optimist in the development of our country. He assumed the administration of the government when it was not reckoned diplomatically or industrially by the cabinets of the Old World, and left it to his successor when, for the same cabinets, the leading discussion is how to avert what they are pleased to call "the American peril." Happily for him, before the dread summons came the realization of his life work, his aspirations and his hopes was complete. The assassin struck him down at the moment when the splendors of the fruition of his labors were crystallized by his death into a halo of immortality.



**At the Dinner Given by the Republican Club  
of New York to the New York State  
Republican Editorial Association,  
April 3, 1902.**

**MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:**

Springtime is the period of happiness and of hope. All nature wakes up resurrected, regenerated and refreshed. After the somber winter of the city a day's outing in the country in April and May compensates for the gloom and the cold and the general discomforts of the preceding months. It is because the flowers and the trees are budding, the birds have returned from the South and are mating and nature is clothing herself in most attractive garb. But this is not the only pleasure of spring. For many years it has been the period when those of us who have been too busy to go to the country have had the country come to us. It is the time when the country editors flock to New York, especially those of this Association. They bring with them all the cheeriness and the charming associations of which we have been deprived. I pity the man born in the city and condemned to pass his life within its limits. I know that the best inheritance which I received was to have seen life first in the country and then to have remained amidst its associations until past thirty. If one possesses a heredity of many generations of hard-working, temperate-living, honest-thinking country folks he can come to town and, doing as they do, bury generation after generation of city dudes and still have about him all the virility, the vigor and freshness of his springtime. In the many phases of life which I have enjoyed, and I have enjoyed them all no matter what their limitations or how hard they may have been, one of the pleasantest

was the brief period when I was a country editor myself. Happily I did not, like Phoenix, ruin the publication, but I do find in different publications the lucubrations of those early days ascribed to many other people, who may or may not be proud of the reputed authorship. My brethren of the press, if I may be permitted to call you such from my brief connection with and after my long absence from the craft, you must not felicitate yourselves that you are the sole recipients of remarkable compliment and recognition. I am just in receipt of a letter from a constituent of mine in our grand old State who is both worthy of its imperial position and is of the kind whom Napoleon the Great would have decorated with the cordon of the Legion of Honor. He writes that his wife has presented him with three boys at one birth, whom he has named respectively, Theodore Roosevelt, Marcus A. Hanna and Chauncey M. Depew, and wishes me to give him my views on the situation.

It is difficult to get at public opinion in a great city. Competition is too acute, the struggle for material and professional success is too intense for that attention to public questions upon which depend good government and prosperity, but in the country, at the gathering places of the church on Sunday and of the store on week days and of the market place, the editor comes in immediate touch with opinions which make and unmake parties and careers. Each time that the Republican Editorial Association has visited New York in the spring for some years back the meeting has been one of congratulation—congratulation upon party triumphs and greater congratulation upon the demonstrated success, carried out in measures and policies, of Republican party principles. There never was a period so full of the victories of industries and of arms as of that of the Republican administration of our government from the commencement of McKinley's first term to and including the first year of Roosevelt's administration. In all our periods of prosperity we have been accustomed to set-backs, panics, temporary stagnation, to the gathering up again of broken threads before the country could advance; but



for the past six years the movement has been upward and onward without a misstep or a slip.

My sympathies go out to the Democratic editor, whether of the city or the country paper. Republicanism stands for hope, for growth, for expansion and for progress; it stands for that liberal construction of the constitution by which its spirit is seen in its letter. The spirit of the Constitution, broadly interpreted according to the needs of succeeding generations, by the Supreme Court, has made that instrument the most beneficent scheme of government ever devised by man. It is the only form of government, written or unwritten, which has stood the strain of the last hundred years—not only stood the strain of the last hundred years, but after one hundred and fifteen years of demonstration under it, is to-day more perfect, more beneficent in its operations, better adapted for radicalism and conservatism, for caution and for progress than all the experiments and all the changing forms of rule which have been devised by the statesmen or the peoples of other lands. But the Democratic editor, brought up in the school of strict construction, cannot be an optimist, while optimism is the very breath of American life and the inspiration of American growth. For a hundred years he has been shocked. The acquisition of Louisiana shocked him, though since there have come out of that Territory fifteen great States; the opening of the Mississippi shocked him; the command of the Pacific coast, which came through the Territories secured from Mexico shocked him; Alaska gave him a chill, and the Philippines are giving him convulsions. It is not only the expansion which has made our country so great and strong which is to him so dreadful, but it is that we have to govern our new possessions when the Constitution has not written in it in plain language anything about such government. To him the letter of the Constitution is an iron band confining within narrow limits this giant of the Western world. If such interpretations had worked out into policies in our last hundred years the United States would be like the Chinese child which is put at its birth within a porcelain

cylinder and has to conform itself in its growth to the shape of its prison.

We met two years ago to rejoice over the results of the war with Spain. Its triumph in a hundred days, its victories on sea and land made that occasion one of congratulation and of exultation. Mingled with our cheers and our joy there was an undercurrent of anxiety as to the disposition and the government of these great possessions which had come to us as a sacred trust. The hour was full of gloomy predictions of disaster. The Philippines were never to be pacified; Porto Rico was to be a constant trouble, and Cuba a thorn in our side. But, happily for the country, the settlement of these questions was wholly in the hands of the Republican party. These problems were to be solved by Republican principles and Republican ideas; the Constitution was to work out the salvation of these dependencies, or colonies or territories which had come to us or were under our protection upon that broad interpretation of its living spirit which had made us so strong and great that in a hundred days we could drive Spain from the Western hemisphere, free Cuba and gain empire in the East and entrance to the markets of the Orient. Two years have passed by and those predictions of disaster have all been falsified. Porto Rico is regenerated, the school house has taken the place of the jail, the school teacher of the policeman and justice of tyranny. In the Philippines every vestige of organized revolt has disappeared, orderly government has been established, the native police are gradually taking the place and performing the work of the army, courts have been established and are administering what the Filipino has not known for three hundred years—absolute and impartial justice. A thousand young school-marms, carrying with them American education, American ideas, American hope, delicacy and consideration, are being welcomed everywhere by Filipino children, and from them the Filipino children are receiving lessons of the beneficence of American institutions and laws, and the spirit of American liberty.

But our rejoicing in this spring meeting takes more concentrated form. Every American is a student of government. The novelty of our original situation at our beginning, our struggle for independence, the processes by which our republic was fashioned and our institutions have grown up have made us the keenest people in the world in the study of the institutions of other nations, and the conditions of other peoples in order to compare them with our own. We find that Germany has been a thousand years reaching German unity and the solidification of the great German peoples. We find Italy slowly and painfully through the centuries working toward Italian unification. We find France going through revolution after revolution seeking some stable form of government with guarantees of freedom. We find Great Britain evolving through hundreds of years toward the ideals of the best British thought. We find also countries like Poland where conquest has ended their existence. Everywhere, every nation which to-day is independent has come to freedom by tremendous sacrifices and sufferings. Wherever a struggling nation has fallen under the protection of a stronger power it has remained subject or been incorporated. Selfishness has ruled in the affairs of nations with each other as in the affairs of men with each other. But to-day we are looking forward to an event that will occur on the twentieth of May. It will stand alone in its characteristics, in its generosity, among the actions of governments. The cry of Cuba, crushed, bleeding, helpless, was responded to by us with a pledge such as an invading army never made before. We said to them, "We will drive out your oppressor, we will restore order, we will start you fairly on the road for self government by eradicating the evils from which you have suffered and giving you the benefits of the institution and their practical operations for which you have so long labored and prayed." In two years the United States has, by wise sanitation, stamped out the yellow fever and made the island healthful; it has ended brigandage and made the island safe; it has destroyed corruption and made the

island possible for the conduct and safety of legitimate business and employment. It has taught a lesson of orderly liberty and brought a revolutionary people to understand that their salvation, their growth and their happiness are in liberty governed by law.

The United States demands no repayment of the millions expended in the rescue of Cuba, asks for no bonds and no share of her revenues to reimburse us for the enormous expenditures of those two years of battle, of experiment and of administration. The army which has done such magnificent work for Cuba, both in war and in peace, retires from the island and returns to the United States. Cuba free, Cuba an independent nation, sends her representative to Washington, and an American ambassador goes to Havana. The family of nations will receive the youngest of republics coming into the circle under conditions and by a creation such as none other of its members can boast and such as the world has never seen before. Our flag is hauled down. It is hauled down in honor and in glory. It is hauled down that another flag may be substituted in Cuba which owes its existence to Old Glory. There may not be another star in the blue, but there is another star in the firmament over free peoples whose existence and whose brilliancy are due entirely to the Stars and the Stripes.

Just now, this being springtime and the time of hope and plantings, and craving for harvest growth, our Democratic friends are engaged in their annual search for an issue. Mr. Bryan visits Washington but says there is no issue for the Democracy to fight on but Bryanism. Mr. Cleveland breaks his silence and says that Democratic success must be won by Democratic principles, but even the Sage of Princeton does not let his party know what those principles are. Our friend, Governor Hill, mistrusts a bill of particulars for a Democratic campaign and says, "Let us fight under the platform, 'I am a Democrat.'"

The brainiest, most suggestive and original mind in the Democratic party in the United States is our friend Henry Watterson of Kentucky. Watterson seizes the old Democratic harmony harp and seeks to mend its

broken chords but takes time to strike first one and then another of those intact to see whether there is any music in it that will enliven the party. Last week in Washington he tried a new tune upon the old harp—the man on horseback. It was a tune that had been heard when Grant was President, but it did not work. It was a tune that was tried when McKinley was President, but that sweetest and loveliest of all the men whoever occupied that high station was not of the stuff which could be built into a Cæsar. Now, however, our friend Watterson thinks that he has found the issue for the coming Congressional campaign and which will create a big scare in the Presidential one. He says that President Roosevelt, under the free and easy manners of the cowboy and the broncho buster, conceals the dire purpose of a despot. I believe that Col. Watterson's discovery will prove a boomerang. The independent press has already repudiated it and the Democratic press has not accepted it. The cowboy and the broncho buster could never, under any environment, become a despot. The freedom of the plains and the subduing of the wild horse make him the frankest and the most fearless of human beings, and Theodore Roosevelt is the frankest and most fearless of all men. I have been brought in more or less intimate contact with Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley. I have had abundant opportunity to see, under favorable auspices the Presidential manner and characteristics. There is the Presidential cordiality with the vacant look that means warmth in the hand and not in the heart and that with your departure will go your memory from the mind. This is known unofficially as the "glad hand" and "marble heart." I remember joining with General, afterward President, Arthur, in a strong recommendation to General Grant for a high position for a distinguished citizen of New York. He failed to be appointed, but boasted that the President received him like the toast to Washington, standing and in silence.

There is the hope held out which never materializes; there is the tentative toying with public measures until the executive judgment can be satisfied as to the way in which

public opinion is to move; there is the executive indecision, so exasperating to the aspirant for office, and to the people who are anxious for measures to be formulated and become laws or for policies to be put in practice which will clearly point the way out of the industrial or financial difficulties of the time. None of these characteristics can be found in Theodore Roosevelt. If his mind is made up, the Senator or the Representative or citizen to whom it is a personal matter knows that decision at once; if his mind is not made up he is anxious for information from all available sources and he wants it "quick." If it is a measure of policy there is no evasion, no truckling, no subterfuge, no two-facedness in his expressions. His first message to Congress is the clear and frank communication of the President of a great people to his people of what he believes to be the true purposes of government. His veto of the bill removing the charge of desertion was an admirable illustration of the high plane of his courage. It is easy to let such measures go and avoid enmities and controversies that would arise from stopping them. Hundreds of bills pass every week for the purpose of restoring deserters to the rolls so that they can secure pensions, for granting pensions to those who could not receive them under the pension laws and for increase of pensions. All of these bills receive from the President quick and appreciative attention and his signature, except the ones for desertion. These cases were passed upon by court-martials thirty-seven years ago, the findings approved by the commanding General and by President Lincoln. The attempts to reverse these decisions have owed their origin and success to a very natural sympathy on the part of Senators, Congressmen and Presidents. But with Theodore Roosevelt a crime higher than any known to the criminal code is desertion of the flag. Life, fortune, family, everything is as nothing to him compared with the duty of the soldier to the flag of his country and of the citizen when the country is in danger. With a wife and young family dependent on him and holding an honorable and lucrative position, he was one of the first to drop them all and become a soldier when the President

called for volunteers in the Spanish war. The same high sense of honor which led him to risk his life and sacrifice all that he held dear when he raised the regiment of Rough Riders is the main spring of his action as President. His ideals of his country are very high, his faith in its future is infinite and he is keenly sensitive to the position of the United States among nations and in the affairs of the world. But the principles of Constitutional government, of American liberty, of the subordination of the military to the civil authority, of the President as the representative of the people and the executor solely of their will, never had in any President a bolder or more patriotic champion than they have in Theodore Roosevelt.





At the Annual Dinner of the "Amens," April 4,  
1902. Subject, "Senator Platt and the  
Amens."

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

I think I am the oldest in years of service among the active members of "Amens." Few know the origin of this remarkable organization. To most of its members it is supposed to be a creation of recent years and at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. But it had its birth more than forty years ago at the Astor House. Thurlow Weed, who had been for many years, and still continued, the State leader, made that famous inn his headquarters.

The tremendous issues of the civil war, the enormous amount of political patronage in the army, in the navy, and in the revenue service which grew out of that strife, compelled Mr. Weed to move from Albany to New York. The Republican State Committee, in some form, was continuously in session. Room No. 12, Astor house, was as famous in its day as 49 Broadway is now. It is almost impossible in these peaceful days to grasp the situation from 1861 to 1865. In the lobbies of the Astor House, waiting to see Mr. Weed, were politicians from all parts, not only of New York, but of the whole North—officers in the army and navy seeking promotion or assignment, and patriotic and ambitious young men looking for commissions. The crowds in the lobbies were so great that it was almost impossible to get in or out. The currents of hope and of despair, of realization and of disappointment, were always flowing through this wonderful aggregation of anxious and ambitious humanity. The only cool, collected, unmoved members of the group were the repre-

sentatives of the press. The Astor House was the center of information on the subjects which were then interesting to the newspapers. The fortunes of politicians were there made and unmade, careers were begun or ended, measures were made possible or defeated, and the reporter found himself so loaded with matter that his difficulty was selection, not copy. They established a headquarters of their own on a bench where they could survey the panorama, and from which they could gather in those whose stories would be most interesting. Upon that bench all the crucial questions arising out of the war, all the capabilities of the worthies who in such numbers filled the public eye for a time and then disappeared, and the critical situations of the country with foreign nations, were candidly and fearlessly discussed. The President and Cabinet Ministers, Senators and Representatives, Governors and Legislators, Generals, Admirals and Commodores were placed upon the rack of incisive investigation and subject to judgments which have been mainly verified by time.

We were not called the "Amens" in those days, nor did that corner have any particular designation, but it contributed more of practical philosophy to current opinion and more real information to the curious and the anxious than any other place in the United States.

Even the great editors of the time, like Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond, might be seen gathering inspiration or news in that wonderful crowd.

The history of the "Amens" and the "Amen Corner" is indissolubly connected with the career of the distinguished gentleman whose name and fame are my subject to-night. In all the many assignments given to me in the forty-five years I have been upon the platform none could be more pleasing or agreeable than that of discussing, or not so much discussing as recalling, in a company of friends, the services to the party and to the country of the distinguished gentleman who is the Republican party leader

in our State and my colleague in the United States Senate, Senator Platt.

Senator Platt and I imbibed politics and the love for them with our earliest nutriment, and our interest and activities in them have grown as the years have onward sped. I was on the stump the year that I became a voter, and so was our friend. I was doing the part of a campaign orator and he was the chief of the campaign Glee Club. The wild extravagances, the uncontrollable enthusiasm and the deep convictions of those earlier efforts caused the young speaker to be widely distributed around the State, but the speech amounted to little in those days unless it was assisted by the glee club. In fact the glee club largely drew the audience and held it to hear the songs which they would sing at the close of the meeting. The favorite song of that day was "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave; his soul is marching on;" but the very heights of ecstatic applause were reached when Brother Platt's fine tenor voice rang through the arches of the building or the trees of the woodland of an out-door meeting, carrying the refrain, "We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree, while John Brown's soul goes marching on."

I count it a greater good fortune in my career than anything else connected with it, I may say than all things else connected with it, that I was projected into public life almost immediately after graduation from Yale, and in relations which gave me the opportunity to know more or less intimately all the characters who have come upon and passed off the stage in the last forty-five years. Including and beginning with Mr. Lincoln, for whom as Secretary of State I collected the soldier vote of the State of New York and with whom I had frequent consultations on many subjects, I have known more or less intimately all the Presidents of the United States. I wish I had the time to tell of their different methods of receiving public men and applicants for office and to differentiate what might be

called their executive habits of thought and of action and to assess from personal contact with each of them their contributions for one-half a century to the public life of our country. But our subject this evening brings us more to the consideration of party leadership, its characteristics, its personnel and its results.

When Senator Platt and I came upon the stage of action in early youth Thurlow Weed was the State leader. Nominally the leadership was the famous triumvirate and partnership of Seward, Weed and Greeley. But Seward knew nothing of practical party management and cared nothing for it. It was the pride of Mr. Weed to supply the political sagacity in the management of men, of caucuses and of conventions which should keep in national public life for the glory of our State and the good of the country the best brain we had in the commonwealth. Greeley thought he was a great political leader and he might have been if he had been ever sure of himself, but he was one of the poorest judges of men and in that way often deceived, often misled and often led to change his opinions. But Weed possessed that cool judgment, that unselfish interest in the success of his party, that concentrated belief that the only possible good government was through his party, that keen judgment of men, their methods, their characters and their qualifications, that almost prophetic touch with current opinion and its possibilities which are the essentials of leadership. With the dissolution of the firm of Seward, Weed and Greeley by the famous proclamation by which the junior member retired, party leadership for awhile lost its significance. Then suddenly Mr. Greeley received an almost unanimous call to lead the party in the State. The first convention which he attended bowed absolutely to his will, but, as illustrative of the uncertainty of his judgment, he sent for me some weeks before the convention met and desired me to take a position upon the State ticket. I had determined then to quit public life, but not public activities, to pursue my profession,

and if possible secure an independence. He pressed the matter, however, with such vigor and earnestness that I finally consented, though it meant the abandonment of my professional career. He then set about a canvass which was successful in securing from practically the whole State an endorsement of the suggestion on my behalf which he was urging with such earnestness and enthusiasm. On the morning of the convention an interview with two gentlemen, who understood his mind and methods, but who were not practical factors at all in party politics, led to his suddenly deciding that some one connected with the Army must be chosen and sending around an order for a change of program just before the roll was called. It was the most fortunate thing which could have happened to me, but created widespread distrust of his qualities as a leader. In less than two years Greeley's power was gone. This experience and many similar ones happening to others which I have witnessed in state conventions have long been an object-lesson of the results which might follow if we departed from the procedure of our grand old Constitution, which has worked so well for over a hundred years in the election of United States Senators to represent the sovereignty of the States in the Senate. Under the specious name of election by the people it is proposed to substitute the whim or caprice of a state convention, with localities fighting for the many places on the ticket, and in session for one day, which keeps no records and whose members take no oath, for the deliberate judgment of Senators and Representatives in the lower house of the state legislatures who are nominated in the conventions of their parties for this purpose, are elected upon this issue and act upon their oath of office, and after public discussion and in the light of publicity make or mar their future careers by the permanent record of their votes.

Two years after Greeley was retired one of the most astute and able politicians this State has ever pro-

duced gathered together the broken threads of party management and wove into one harmonious whole an organization more compact and aggressive than any we had ever known before, and that was Governor Reuben E. Fenton. Fenton called around him the young men who had displayed capacity for public life, gave them positions in their several districts and thus speedily created what is now called a machine. Then came a struggle which led to many differences, many bitter-nesses, many estrangements and sometimes the loss of the State, and that was the effort of Roscoe Conkling to dethrone Reuben E. Fenton. Mr. Conkling succeeded in wresting from Fenton the national patronage and securing to himself the favor and confidence, as against Fenton, of the Grant administration. For twelve years he led the party and dominated it with one of the most brilliant, aggressive and autocratic leaderships ever known in any party or in any State. When he retired from public life, and in resuming the practice of his profession gave up all interest and activity in politics, the party in the State for some years was governed by a syndicate of gentlemen who had not for a long time acted together, and whose opinions and interests were so diverse that harmony was impossible. It was from this chaotic condition that these strong and masterful men who were either jealous of or antagonistic to each other, gradually came to recognize and defer to the judgment, the sagacity, the skill and the judicial consideration of Thomas C. Platt. They found him always with an open ear and an open mind always ready to hear every suggestion. When the case had been fully presented by those who had formed their judgments in the different localities from the different environments and different inspirations and aspirations, he, as a court of last resort or appeal, rendered decisions which were universally accepted, and the success which followed almost invariably justified their wisdom.

Mr. Platt's leadership has differed from that of most

of his predecessors in a recognition of rising ability and giving its possessor his opportunity without the fear of thereby losing any of his own prestige or authority. He has been as true to his friends in their adversity as in their prosperity. His strength and hold upon public men, upon politicians in and out of office, and upon active workers of the party is that his word has always been his bond; is that there is no record of that characteristic so common in public men of his ever having gone back on a friend, or upon an enemy if he had made up with him and given him his word. One significant instance of that is part of the history of our State. In the Senatorial canvass of 1880 Mr. Conkling's organization was so strong that he had practically two-thirds of the Republican members of the Legislature. He was very hostile to Mr. Garfield, who had just been elected President, and especially to Mr. Garfield's Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, with whom he had an irreconcilable quarrel. President Garfield and Mr. Blaine insisted upon my entering the canvass. Mr. Conkling favored Mr. Crowley and sent Gen. Arthur, who had just been elected Vice-President on the ticket with Garfield, to Albany to conduct Crowley's canvass. It was a remarkable evidence of Senator Platt's skill and popularity that, notwithstanding this, he equally divided the Conkling forces. He said to me one day, "You do not expect to be elected, what are you in this canvass for? You must understand that if there was any chance, by any break, of your election, either Mr. Crowley or I would retire and a Conkling man would succeed." I frankly told him why I was in the canvass and at whose inspiration, and that all I was there for was to secure the election of a Senator who would support the administration. He instantly and very frankly said, "I will do that." With his usual frankness he repeated that to a meeting of my friends. That night he was elected. It was a time of the bitterest and most vengeful political strife, and Garfield and Blaine, carrying out ante-pres-

idential promises, as well as their own wishes, sent Judge Robertson's name to the Senate for Collector of the Port of New York. It was owing to the wild passions created by this controversy, and which went beyond our State limits over the country, that the addled fanatic Guiteau assassinated Garfield. Notwithstanding a pressure greater than any other politician ever had to endure from his party friends and his party leader, Senator Platt adhered to his promise, would accept no excuse or reason for varying from it, and carried into effect the purpose which has been the active principle of his public life, that he would resign rather than break his word.

Public life is full of officials unequal to their positions, or who have proven unfaithful to their trusts. I do not think there can be found in the records of recommendation for positions, small and great, in the State or Federal service, such a list of men who have proved to be all that the office required, and so few who have been disappointments, as in the selections made on the recommendation of Senator Platt. Many of those whom he has chosen have been bitterly assailed prior to their appointment or election, but in almost every instance their administration has justified the accuracy of his judgment and the wisdom of his choice. Look at the Governors of the State of New York who have been selected after a most careful scrutiny and discussion mainly upon his judgment during his leadership. Each time the situation was critical, as it always is in our State, for failure or success. But the State is proud and the country is proud of the names and the fame and the administrations of the Governors of our Commonwealth, Levi P. Morton, Frank S. Black, Theodore Roosevelt, and Benjamin B. Odell, Jr.

Much as we may deplore the situation, nevertheless there seems to be no escape from the necessity, in the conduct of a campaign, for collecting large sums of money and spending them. That is true whether it is



the canvass of the regular party or reform organizations. Reliance is placed upon headquarters to furnish the funds for campaign literature and its distribution; for public speakers; for halls; for committee rooms, and the large staff necessary to conduct modern political business. The funds thus contributed are largely collected by the party leader, because of confidence in him, and their custody and disbursement are mainly with him. This is a wicked world, and one phase of its wickedness is suspicion of the methods and conduct of everybody. One phase of its wickedness is the easily made charge, so difficult to refute, of corruption and dishonesty. But so clear has been the conduct of Senator Platt in these matters, so transparently has he wisely expended the money collected, encroaching on his own funds in addition, that no enemy, however bitter, no newspaper, however reckless, has ever charged him with appropriating for his own purposes a dollar of these voluntary party contributions.

Happily Brother Platt and I have lived together in the political family for nearly one-half a century, with a few of those differences, never acute enough to be lasting, which will occur in all well-regulated families and add to their harmony. I never have derived more pleasure from any association than that with him in the United States Senate. Colleagues, as a rule, in that distinguished body are jealous of one another. There is keen rivalry, either for general distinction or position in the Senate, or, more especially, leadership at home, often publicly seen and more often thinly veiled. But the Senator and I find the great interests of the greatest of States furnish opportunities for work and necessities for labor in our separate departments where we can supplement each other in that cordial confidence which makes political life a delight, its work a pleasure and its triumphs happiness.

I am sure that not only we, the "Amens," who are here to-night, not only our guests, not only the men

who love politics because they love public work in every school district in our State, but public men of all parties all over the country from the President down, unite with us to-night in the greatest good wishes for the health and long life of Senator Platt, and a long continuance of his activities in the public service.





SPEECHES

OF

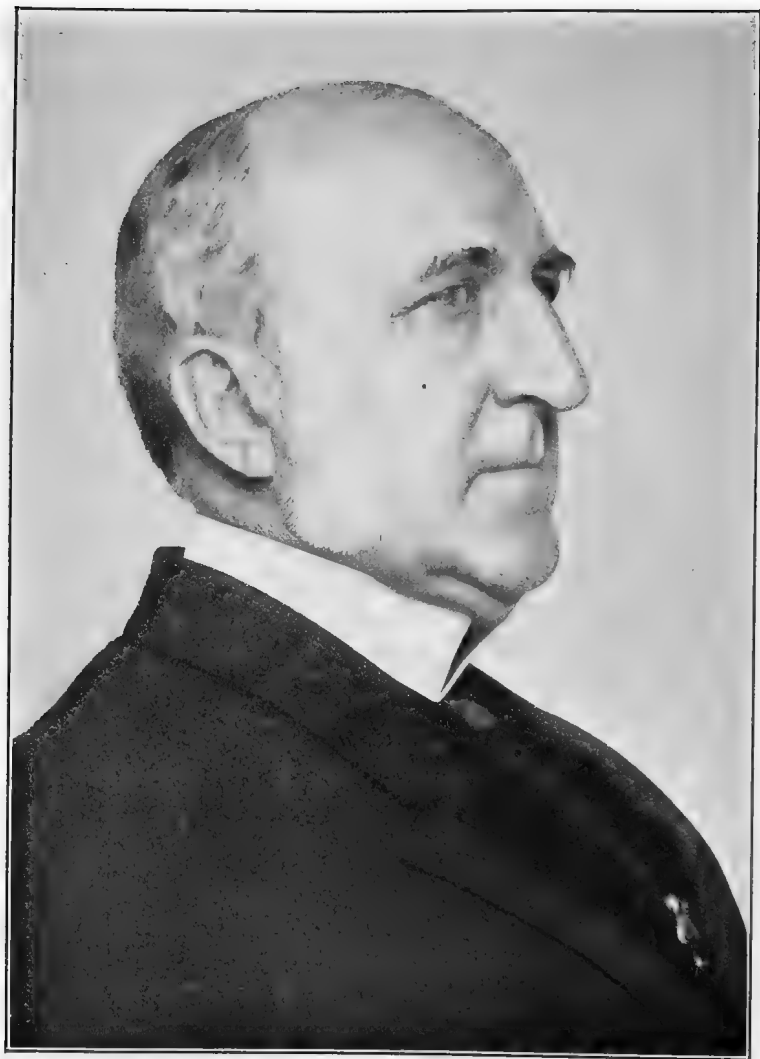
Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

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APRIL, 1902—NOVEMBER, 1904







Yours Truly.  
Chauncey M. Depew.







# SPEECHES

BY

HON. CHAUNCEY M DEPEW, LL.D.

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**At the Dinner Given by the Montauk Club of  
Brooklyn, April 19, 1902, in Celebration of  
Mr. Depew's Birthday.**

MY FRIENDS:

For the eleventh successive year you decorate me with the most gratifying compliment and honor of celebrating my birthday. Each decade has its history and characteristics. We have closed the first and now enter upon the second period. The suggestion is full of reminiscence. Under ordinary circumstances the biggest bore in the world is the man who buttonholes or corners you while he "reminisces."

An event has happened in my life since last we met which points rather to the future than to the past. It is an event full of hope and happiness and emphasizes my belief in the maxim that it is not good for man to be alone. In the absence of questions of great interest to the world there has been for some years an acute discussion upon the subject whether marriage is a failure, and whether married life does not prevent by its absorption in domestic cares, the greatest intellectual development and achievement. This company and a vast majority of the friends we know are a full refutation of the heresy which doubts the happiness of the home and the pleasures of domesticity. Having tried both single-blessedness and marriage a sufficient number of mature years to thoroughly test the question, I bear unqualified testimony to the fact that the man who passes his life in what is called single-blessedness has missed most of its pleasures. The newer idea that great achievement is either rendered impossible or reduced in proportions by domesticity seems hardly worth considering. If the libraries should be

searched for gems of thought, for immortal works in poetry and prose; if statesmanship should be culled for those who have accomplished most for their country; if the conquerors of the world in arms whose names have survived the centuries, and will survive them, are collected, the searcher would be astonished to find how few of them remained unmarried and how many of them acknowledged deep indebtedness for their success to the advice, the counsel and the assistance of their wives.

This last summer there gathered under the old elms at New Haven the class in which I graduated from Yale forty-five years ago. There were ninety-seven members when we received our diplomas. Twenty-six, thirteen on the one side and thirteen on the other, enlisted in the Civil War. Thirteen were killed and they are to be eliminated from the question of the longevity of the class. The other thirteen contracted diseases or suffered from wounds which carried nearly all of them off. Taking out from the ninety-seven the twenty-six whose conditions are abnormal we have seventy-one left who are to be judged according to the accidents common to humanity. Of that seventy-one, forty-eight are living and forty were present at our gathering, and after forty-five years of combat with the world, after an average of sixty-six years of life, two-thirds of these men who went out into the world in 1856, are still making careers and pursuing their pathways with the vigor, the cheerfulness, the activities and the hopefulness of their youth. This result is a superb tribute to the lessons of education and the necessities for work. No similar body selected at random from business, or the professions, or the trades could show a like marvellous proportion of mental and physical living activities after their span of life had passed two-thirds of a century. Of the ninety-seven who left their alma mater in 1856, only three had either in possession or in prospect an independent fortune. The rest had no capital other than health, character, brains, the spirit

of old Yale and ambition. The question when we separated was, each to the other, what are you going to do? The question when we met was, what have you done? I had not seen most of these men for over forty years, but before the dinner was half over the bald heads, the gray hairs and the frosted whiskers had disappeared and we all saw the fruition of the promise foreshadowed during those sacred associations of youth where we came to know each other so well in the class-room, the chapel, the mysteries of the secret society, the strenuositities of athletics and the midnight revels at the historic inn called The Woodcock. As each unrolled his life-story it was to find that for every one of them there had been a large measure of happiness in this world. Not over four had accumulated what might be called a fortune, but all of them had lived lives of independence and of usefulness. A large majority had little if anything beyond modest homes, but there was none who had not exercised a wide influence upon the community in which he lived. Many had achieved unusual distinction in the professions and in public life and were living lessons of the possibilities of extracting the largest measure of pleasure out of life, of exercising the greatest influence upon public affairs and in the moulding of the characters of the generations to come, without either possessing or having struggled for, to the exclusion of other activities, that wealth which is now the absorption of youth and age and the craze of the hour.

In the old attic days, its famed philosophers and its brilliant youth would sit all night around the banquet table and discuss the question, "Is life worth the living?" Under the inspiration of their discussions which have been preserved, this subject either for information or despair has been the theme of the ages. But when I listened to the experiences and achievements of my class, two of them members of that greatest tribunal in the world, the Supreme Court of the United States, others of them famous lawyers, preach-

ers and professors in colleges, editors and writers, soldiers, statesmen and men of affairs, others still, those who started and had always remained country clergymen of rural parishes, and grasped the sum of what they had got out of and contributed to the world, I felt, as never before, surely life is worth the living. The fact that they were all still as active in their careers as at the beginning, and leaders because of experience and trained ability, suggested another thought; that is, the power of those who are classed as old men; whom the casual youth calls "played out" and no longer of any account. When I was twenty-one I thought a man of forty very old, and that he ought to retire. When I was forty, I thought a man of sixty had grown senile and worthless. When I got to be sixty, I reversed my opinion and thought that fifty and forty and thirty and twenty knew little of the pleasures of existence and the utilization of cultivated power.

The United States Senate is the most wonderful legislative body in the world. It is the greatest authority in the government of the United States; it has added to its legislative functions the tremendous responsibilities of the making of treaties with foreign nations; it has moulded and continues to mould the legislation of the country; it is the grave of bad measures and the maker of good ones; the leaders of its thought and action are known and respected all over the country; its members who are past seventy years of age (and many are nearer eighty than three score and ten) by reason of their long service and great ability are the rulers of the Republic, the inspiration of its progress and in touch with every vitalizing influence which promotes its welfare. See the list of the seventies who have been many times elected—Allison, Morgan, Hoar, Platt of Connecticut, Frye, Cullom, Vest, Hawley, Bate, Jones of Nevada, Stewart, Proctor, Gibson and Teller. No measure could pass which those Senators were unitedly opposed to, no measure could be defeated



which they unitedly favored. And when you come to the sixties—and most of them nearer seventy than sixty—we have Hale, Platt of New York, Quay, Cockrell, Mitchell, Millard, Gallinger, Hanna, Foster, McEnery, McMillan, Burrows, Blackburn, Perkins, Bacon, Money, Clark, Jones, Patterson, Elkins, Aldrich, Bard, Harris and Daniel. These Senators between sixty and eighty (and Pettus the oldest, at eighty-one, is as vigorous as the youngest) are the ablest in the preparation of measures, keenest in the detection of flaws or mistakes in bills, foremost in debate and more intellectually and uniformly alert to all that pertains to governing and the working of government than any other men in either branch of Congress. I might almost say they are the Congress of the United States.

Within the brief period since we began meeting on this congratulatory and happy occasion eleven years ago, how the world has changed! The position of the United States, both in its relation to other nations and in its internal development, is the most remarkable example of the miracles of the decade. "I am an American citizen" was a proud boast of eleven years ago. But the American citizen of that day was a provincial, so far as the world is concerned, and an infant, so far as the industrial greatness of his country was concerned, compared with the American citizen of to-day. Nothing more marks this decade from others than the sudden accumulation of fabulous fortunes. When I graduated from Yale there were only two multi-millionaires in the United States, John Jacob Astor and Commodore Vanderbilt. Neither of them at that period had reached the \$10,000,000 limit. There were not in the whole country twenty people worth a million dollars. To-day there are more than one hundred in Pittsburgh alone who have passed that figure. There were then no trusts, no great combinations of capital, and no concentration of industries. We have not time to estimate the loss and gain, but the greatest loss has been the disappearance of the community

of neighborhoods, of that universal acquaintance, that leveling up by which in the church and charities and social affairs there were acquaintance, commingling and sympathy which have disappeared under present conditions. The trusts and great combinations have aided our industrial advance and superiority over other nations. They have increased the scale of wages and enlarged the area of employment. They have given vast power to a few men who are being closely watched and who have in their hands vast responsibilities which are accompanied by great perils. The misuse of these great powers, the exercise of them oppressively, the imposition of burdens upon the people beyond reasonable returns for capital invested, the failure to recognize the rights of all, will be sure to react in drastic measures of legislation.

These vast fortunes, themselves so conspicuous, so almost incomprehensible, are at present more matters of curiosity than of antagonism. Most of the possessors of them have shown a wise generosity in the distribution of their wealth. In no other country in the world and at no other period, have the rich from their abundance given so lavishly to education, philanthropy and patriotism. Last year the known sums which were thus contributed amounted to the high figure of \$107,360,000. The contrast is great between the comprehension by the multi-millionaires of the United States who have gained so enormously by the tremendous development of our resources and because of their masterful control and promotion of them, of what they owe to their country, and those of other lands who have been similarly fortunate. The legacies of Cecil Rhodes are magnificent, their purposes are sufficiently grand to make them seem wise and beneficent, but the very distribution of this vast fortune accumulated by the opportunities given by his Government calls attention to other fortunes much larger than his own similarly acquired. Except under the inspiration of these capitalists and for the protection of their mines

and investments and for the promotion of their schemes, the war in the Transvaal would hardly have been begun. Their palaces, their lavish expenditures and their oriental gorgeousness of living have made Park Lane one of the most famous of avenues. But one hears everywhere in England, where wealth and rank are seldom criticised, little but criticism of these enormously rich men. And yet South Africa has not produced, with the exception of Cecil Rhodes, a benefactor like Carnegie, or Rockefeller, or Morgan, or scores of other Americans whose names are not so well known. The lack on the part of these South African millionaires of public spirit and of recognition of the debt due to the country to which they owe so much gives to Cecil Rhodes, man of affairs, empire builder and dreamer, a monopoly among the beneficiaries of England's expansion and development, of the fame of a wise appreciation and proper use of a great fortune.

We utilize this occasion annually to gather and share the mingled fun and wisdom which teaches its lesson without injuring the object of our observations or of our mirth. This sudden acquisition of almost incalculable riches by so many in the last five years has produced many singular results. The most ghastly misfortune which can happen to a man who has been successfully prosecuting and increasing his business until he has passed middle life is to be compelled to sell out and retire. He may receive a sum far beyond any value he ever placed upon his plant and good will. Nevertheless the sale is generally accompanied by an obligation not to resume and compete. Little outside the factory or office interests him because the cells of his brain have become, some of them, abnormally active, and others paralyzed through disuse. He can think of nothing and he cares for nothing but the shop and its results. Books, literature, lectures, travel, politics, society and play bore the life out of him. I know half a hundred such men who have come to this condition within the last few years. During the panic

season from 1893 to 1897 most of them were in the greatest distress. Their credit was expanded, their mills, their factories and their furnaces were practically idle and they were dependent upon the faith which their banks had in them and the help of their friends to keep their heads above water. But even those conditions occupied their time and minds in a way which gave a certain measure of enjoyment—that enjoyment which the strong swimmer feels when he buffets the waves, is master of the sea and knows that he will reach the shore.

Now comes the humor of the situation. One of them, who had parted with his business at an enormous price, said to me in Europe last summer, "How do you pass your time over here? I could not find anything to do at home, and so, for the first time in my life, I have come abroad. Walking around cathedrals, tramping through picture galleries, visiting ruins and being lied to by guides bores me to death. I feel all the while as if every day was forty-eight hours long, and that there was an auger on my breast about twelve inches across the bit and being turned at the rate of only one revolution a minute. The best advertised frauds are the Old Masters. There are hundreds of fresh American girls along the Monongahela who can beat out of sight Rubens' fat women and Raphael's thin ones." There is nothing for that man except to get back in some form to his business, or speculate and lose his fortune or die of indigestion which comes from gorging and patent medicines. One who recently died suddenly, as his fortune had come to him suddenly, from the excesses into which he plunged in order to get what he thought might be the pleasures that he craved and the worth of his money, wandered into my office one day for advice and consolation. I said to him, "You ought to be happy. You were struggling once with poverty and then with many vicissitudes. You were always longing for the time when you would have rest and income and could do what

you liked. Now that you have everything, what is the trouble?" "Well," he said, "I have a palace, but the architect built it. I have furniture which, they say, is real, of all periods, but the bric-a-brac dealer is my reliance for its genuineness and worth; I have pictures which were purchased by my picture dealer and a catalogue stating who painted them and what are their merits; I have tapestries and frescoes which everybody admires, but my decorator selected the one and did the others; I have a large library, but my publisher furnished the books and had the backs of them so made that the colors would correspond with the decorations of the room; I have a chef who has turned the stomach which was satisfied for fifty years with plain meat and vegetables, and could easily take care of all it got, into a laboratory for the digestion of his marvelous concoctions and which has gone to pieces." "Well," I said, "my friend, now looking back over a very strenuous life, with success coming to you as it did, almost in a minute, what were your happiest days?" "Well," he said, "I began life as agent at a small railway station, having been previously a clerk. I was lusty and vigorous and active in all town affairs and in politics. I received permission from the superintendent to sell refreshments in the waiting room. My happiest days were while I was selling tickets out of the window of the ticket office and my wife was passing cakes and pies over the counter and raking quarters back while she rocked the cradle with her toe. Then I had no troubles on my mind, no burdens on my heart, no qualms in my conscience, no knowledge that I had a stomach, no interruptions of my sleep and no aches in my body, and now I have them all." He gave me his opera box one evening, saying, "I want you to hear Signor Spaghetti—he sails over high C like the pigeons used to at Canajoharie over the church steeple."

I could give scores of other instances, but these are sufficient to illustrate that longevity, happiness and

pleasures of every kind, social, political, domestic and in one's self can be had only by a cheerful practice of the gospel of work.

Every new condition is sure to contribute some new phrase or maxim to the language. When Charles Sumner was making life exceedingly uncomfortable for spoilsmen, contractors and jobbers, an eminent cabinet minister enriched our political literature by remarking that "The country had no use for those damned literary fellers." So our friends with the ten and twenty and thirty and forty millions which have come to them in the miraculous prosperity of the last few years have invented a phrase. It does not interest you and me. It is only applicable among themselves. One of them expressing his contempt for me in having missed fame and happiness in millions because of activities in many fields said to me, "Any man with brains can make thirty millions and not half try." It is the phrase "little feller." Abraham S. Hewitt once said in one of those luminous and wise speeches which he makes to workingmen and young men that no man could be called rich in these days unless he was worth over twenty millions of dollars. Under that sum he had no place in the vocabulary of wealth. These gentlemen designate every man who has less than ten millions, as a "little feller." He may have anywhere from one to nine, but he is still a "little feller." In talking recently with a "big feller," who had emerged only in 1899 from the ranks of the "little fellers," I mentioned the charming hospitality I had enjoyed at the house of an old friend who has lived well and entertained delightfully for many years. He said, "Oh! old B. how could you stop with him? He is a 'little feller,' and has only three millions of dollars, and nobody can live like a gentleman on the income of that sum." The happy result of this envy and malice is that all the countless millions of the rest of mankind are utterly excluded from the calculations of the elect.

These incidents remind me of a friend who is and always has been a genuine "reformer" in the best sense of that much abused word, but who is also a man of eminent practical common sense. He held a prominent public position of responsibility and power. One of the Aldermen came to see him to secure a contract for furnishing certain materials for the city. The Alderman said to him, "If you will give me the contract I will treat you right," and then gave his prices. "But," said the official, "your prices are twice the market." "Yes," said the Alderman, "but I will treat you right." Then he went on to explain that he was to receive half of the profits and that he would divide with my friend. My friend said: "Why not give that to the city?" and the Alderman went off disgusted. My reformer friend rested under the delusion that without making a scandal or a row by exposure which would have been difficult, as the two were talking alone, he had taught the Alderman a valuable lesson in public honesty, and had left upon the Alderman's mind the impression that with all his experience with corruption and rottenness he had at last met one honest and incorruptible official. He was sadly disappointed to learn afterward that the Alderman's view of the case was that the reason why he did not under the circumstances give him the contract was because he would not accept a quarter of the profits, but was a hog and wanted the whole thing.

The uppermost and most gratifying thought in this hour devoted to reminiscence is that, notwithstanding what the pessimists may say, the world grows better every day. The scale of living and the wages to support it are infinitely higher and better than they were when I left old Yale. The facilities for travel, the means for rapid intercommunication of intelligence between communities and countries, the telephone and the electric light are the comforts of the period. Profanity forty years ago was an accomplishment, and by many developed into an art; blasphemy was so com-

mon, even among the very young, that it hardly shocked anyone. Now the commonly profane man could maintain no position socially and would not be tolerated in the clubs. Drunkenness has disappeared from the social gatherings. It was then the commonest, and now it is the rarest thing to have a man imbibe too much at dinner. The social world will not forgive the second offense, and a member so offending is ostracized. The circle of people who use libraries, and the informing part of them, has enormously widened, while newspapers and magazines are found in homes which were ignorant of their existence before the Civil War. The moral tone of the community in regard to offenses against the family or the individual is much stricter and more rigid. Corruption was common in public life for years after the War of the Rebellion; the halls of Congress were full of scandal, the truth of which everybody knew. There was an enormous amount of barter and sale, not only in the letting of contracts, but also in the securing of offices. To-day the national halls of legislation are absolutely clean; there is no suggestion of improper influence in either house of Congress. Instant detection, exposure and disgrace will follow any attempt at the common things of forty years ago. The suffrage has been broadened; at the same time it has been purified. Political leaders have come to see that successes which depend upon illegal registration, upon the stuffing of ballot-boxes, upon repeating in voting are illusory. Most of the States have adopted the Australian secret ballot which prevents intimidation and bribery and gives independence to the voter. There is still much to be done in the reduction of campaign expenses which even now are a scandal in many Congressional districts, but we can rejoice at the tremendous advance made in this respect within the last quarter of a century.

At no period in the history of Christianity have there been such subtle assaults upon faith. It has



seriously affected attendance upon the churches; it has sent a wave of skepticism through the colleges and the universities; it has invaded the theological seminaries. I know of no crime against the peace and happiness of the individual, against restfulness and hope like that which undermines the faith which passes from mother to son, without furnishing any substitute or any foundation in its place. And yet, notwithstanding all this, there is a healthier and more hopeful religious sentiment and practice of the precepts of all beliefs in the world to-day than at any other period of Christian history.

We enter upon the twentieth century, especially we of the United States, under conditions so prosperous, under prospects so bright, under relations between capital and labor, employers and employés, so much improved and so harmonious, under an absence of political malice and vindictiveness and under such a superior knowledge of the laws of health and the practice of that community of interest which makes all the world akin, that we pass from this year into the next more than ever convinced that life is worth the living.



At the Celebration of the Seventy-fifth  
Anniversary of the First Presbyterian  
Church of Peekskill, New York,  
June 25, 1902.

MY FRIENDS:

I know of no event which could happen in Peekskill, or anywhere else, which would interest me more than to be present at the 75th anniversary of this old church. I was born in this church and all my earliest recollections are connected with scenes in and about this congregation. My mother was an attendant here for over fifty years, and my grandmother became a member very soon after the church was formed, and continued so during nearly fifty years of her life until her death; so that the associations are specially sacred, tender and loving which I have had with everything connected with this old edifice and the one which preceded it.

My first recollection among the pastors of the church is of Mr. Marshall, who was occupying the pulpit when I was brought here first by my mother, when I was a youngster between two and three years old. He was a Scotchman, a genuine product of John Knox and the Covenanter movement of the Old Country. He had the accent so distinctly that you had to become accustomed to it before you could understand him. His sermons were always upon doctrinal questions, and he never touched upon matters in practical life. I remember with what earnestness and eagerness as a boy I endeavored to comprehend his elucidation of predestination and free will, and all the other abstruse questions and problems, which he solved with the accuracy of a mathematical machine.

Outside the church Mr. Marshall was one of the most delightful of men. He was full of quaint humor, full

of odd conceits, which he had brought with him from the Old Country, and which were part of his education, and his reading, and his University training at Aberdeen. He used to delight me as a boy, because he frequently took tea at our house, at least once a week, and talked to me upon Scottish subjects. He introduced me to Robert Burns; he led me along the path where I became familiar with Sir Walter Scott; and it was largely under his inspiration that I had read in prose and poetry every one of Sir Walter Scott's volumes through at least three times by the time I was fourteen years old.

Dr. Marshall's wife was a very prudent, a very intelligent, and a very brainy woman, and her difficulty in life was the economic side of the Doctor's conduct. He was a great theologian; he was a profound thinker; but he knew nothing whatever about the economic side by which means were to be squared for ends. And so, like many a wife of many a clergyman, that part—and that difficult part—depended upon her. It was a difficult part, with the small salary, which was all the congregation could afford to pay in those early days.

I remember impressed upon my mind—recollection always goes to humor and retains it longer than it does solid things—two observations of Mr. Marshall made at that time at my mother's house. In those days everybody in the village dined at twelve o'clock and took tea at six, and it was a way of passing the evening. Whether they grew out of some observations made upon his wife's economic requirements of the household or not, I do not know, but I remember very well his first remark. He had married my mother to my father, and my father and mother had been for many years in his Sunday-school prior to that event; so he always called her by her first name. And he said—apropos of nothing, as I remember it as a boy—"Martha, marriage is a revel and a rout; those who are out wish they were in, and those who are in wish they were out."

And the second remark bore upon the same domestic question when he said, "Martha"—I as a boy listening with eager ears for everything that this kindly instructor would say—"Martha, better live on a house-top than in a broad house with a brawling woman." I am sure that none of those characteristics properly belonged to Mrs. Marshall, because, as a boy, she impressed me deeply as the sweetest and most intelligent woman whom I ever met.

Next in the pastorate, when I was still a youth, came the Rev. Dr. Halliday. My recollections of him are of the most loving and cordial character. During the whole twenty-four years of his pastorate. I was exceedingly close in every way to the thought and to the life of this most admirable man. He was a scholar; he wrote beautiful English, and his sermons were models of composition. He possessed great business capacity and rare common sense. Every difficulty in the church, every difficulty in the family, every difficulty among members of the congregation, finally found their way for solution to this exquisite judgment and this admirable sense of Dr. Halliday. He kept alive the spiritual side, and he kept inside the piques among the congregation as few ministers are able to do in the administration of their very difficult task. He used to talk to me constantly, because in the first few weeks of his pastorate he stayed at our house until he could find, and locate himself in a residence. He used to talk to me always before I went to Yale College upon a career in life. At that time there was not much thought in Peekskill about going to college; not much thought in Peekskill about acquiring a profession; but the thought was as soon as possible to become a wage-earner and to contribute something to self-support and to larger purposes in life. But this one idea hammered constantly week by week as I would talk with him as he came to our house, or I would talk with him as I visited him, was "get an education; go through college; take an interest in public affairs; it seems to me

that you have the gift of public speech; it is a great gift; utilize it, and utilize it when you have acquired a knowledge of public questions, moral questions, and religious questions; and then utilize it for the purpose of impressing it upon your neighbors and upon the people wherever you can speak." It is difficult to tell what may be the effects upon an impressionable youth of such lessons, coming from a source which you look to with reverence and with love.

I can remember as if it were photographed on this desk the interior of this church as it presented itself to me when my mother first brought me in here and placed me in the pew, situated exactly where my friend Mr. Hill is now sitting. I remember the people who were all about at that time as they were located: Mr. William Nelson, down the middle aisle there; Mr. Towbridge, down here, Tyler Fountain, over on the other side, and Sunday after Sunday I saw them while I was looking around, as I ought not to have done, and wondering what they were thinking about; whether they understood any better than I did the doctrinal sermon, which Mr. Marshall was preaching.

And again you come to the humorous side, as to what most impresses you among these people. On the solid side I want to say that I studied law afterwards, and got my profession with Mr. William Nelson, and I often walked home from prayer meetings and from the church services with that old gentleman, who took such an interest in youth, and his influence always was, "get an education, get your profession, and then accomplish something in the world." And I feel a debt of gratitude to him for the impress of his pre-eminently wise mind and understanding.

Immediately behind us in the pew before I had reached the dignity of pantaloons, sat Deacon Bodine. Now Brother Bodine was a devout Presbyterian. He was thoroughly posted upon all the authorities of Calvinism, and believed in them with the utmost rigidity. He was a purist, not only in doctrine, but in conduct in

church. He knew perfectly well that Mr. Marshall, and afterwards Dr. Halliday, would never stray by any possibility from the straight line of Calvinistic doctrine, and so he need not watch them. The result was he watched me, and scarcely a week passed that there was not a pinch at the end of my ear or a sore spot between my shoulder blades, from the good deacon reminding me that I was not sufficiently attentive to proper conduct in church. I never had any relief except when there was a young clergyman in the pulpit. In those days, especially when Dr. Halliday was here, he having been connected for a long time with Princeton college, they used to send their young licentiates up here for the purpose of delivering their first sermon, and good brother Bodine would watch them with eagle eye to see whether they kept straight to the line of the doctrines of the church to which they were committed and in which they were afterwards to preach, and then my ears and back had a great relief.

I was during the whole period of the admirable history, which has just been read here by Mr. Hasbrouck, the whole period of the superintendency of Mr. Hyatt, a member of that Sunday-school, and continued such until I entered Yale, which was a year before his superintendency expired. He is impressed upon my mind both ways; as the superintendent of the Sunday-school, and because he was, I think, during the whole of that period the leader of the choir. He was an excellent man in every way, an admirable citizen, a good Christian, and at one time he opened a singing-school in order that he might teach the boys and the girls of the village music. Now the good elder was not instructed in the science of music. He knew every hymn; he knew every tune in the hymn-book; he could give them with perfect accuracy, but when it came to the signs of music he never had had the opportunity to educate himself in that line. I remember in that school he taught us tunes and notes, and we learned the tunes because his idea was to train us to become members of church

choirs in the future. If he had any idea we should use them for the purpose of concerts or operas, he would have thought we were going to perdition immediately. I think it is owing to that kind of instruction, which the good elder gave me in those early days, that it is with the utmost difficulty to-day that I can tell the difference between Yankee Doodle and the Star Spangled Banner.

My friends, these are light and airy references, which are simply the flower of the humor growing out of the recollections of the infinite good that was always at the bottom in this church. In my recollections of it from early infancy up to the present time, there is not one false chord, not one mistaken note, not one regretful period. But it is all of gratitude to the old church and to its teachings, for what it has done for me, and for those whom I have known who have received the benefits of its teachings.

Just remember how rapidly time flies, how distant it all seems. When this church was founded there was not a telegraph, nor a railroad, not a telephone in the world. There was scarcely a steamboat on the Hudson river, and what few steamboats there were, were in the infancy of steam navigation. There was only infrequent communication between this village and the outside world. In 1826 John Quincy Adams was president of the United States; Henry Clay was secretary of the state; John C. Calhoun was vice-president of the United States; William Wirt, the magic orator of Virginia, who has presented us with what we know of Patrick Henry, was attorney-general. It all seems as distant as the Revolutionary war. When this church was founded Lafayette was making his memorable visit to this country, to receive all through this territory and all over the Union, such a manifestation of love and gratitude for what he had done for our struggle for freedom, and for the affection which he had displayed for the father of our country, George



Washington, as no man ever received before, especially a foreigner not born to the soil.

This church ran along its peaceful course until the agitations came, which produced the revolution that has made us what we are in the purification of our political atmosphere. I remember, for I was older then, when the separation took place between the old church and those who formed the new, now happily again united. It was simply radicalism fighting conservatism. On one side were those, who at that time, believed that to talk slavery in the pulpit, meant talking politics in the pulpit, and that, our church has always been opposed to. On the other side were those who said: "High moral and religious question is the holding of human beings in bondage with all the foulness that comes from it," and they seceded.

It is almost impossible for our imagination to picture that there could have been a period in this village when the leading members of all our churches would say to the minister, "We are trading with the South, it is the foundation of our prosperity, and if you preach against slavery you must leave the pulpit or we will leave the church," and yet that was the condition in this church fifty years ago. But we overcame all that and the church has gone on.

Traveling over the country as I do, visiting every State, going among all people, frequently on political or lecturing missions, and stopping at private houses, the first talk in the evening will always turn upon the prosperity of the church to which the family belongs. Almost all churches that I have ever had the knowledge of or come in contact with have had financial difficulties, and have had to be helped out. It is the extraordinary record of this church that during the three-quarters of a century it has lived its own quiet, useful, productive life and has sustained and supported itself. It has never been in financial difficulty, it has never labored under a burdensome debt, it has never

had to appeal to the world to help it,—the conditions which are so frequent among churches everywhere in our country and in all countries. And it has been due to the character of the congregation of the church during the seventy-five years, nine-tenths of them described by the prophet as “having neither poverty nor riches.” They represented that most admirable type of Christian citizenship; where the father has made his way to competence and independence, where he has brought up his children to do their best for God and for their country, and where they go out to take their place in business, or in trade or in the profession, to work again by the care of the spirit which they have received at home and to make positions in the community, secure competence, and bring their children up to the same line of virtue, usefulness, and happiness.

It is another curious fact often called to my attention, and never more strongly than by Mr. Hasbrouck’s figures of the contributions of the Sunday School, that often and often it used to be told in the old times when I was here that when the account was made up this church in proportion to its membership had contributed more than any other church in the Presbytery for the general purposes of the organization. Now we live in an age of great giving. There never was such liberality and generosity and in such prodigious sums before. There never has been the accumulation of such gigantic fortunes and in many instances they never have been used so wisely and so beneficently. All honor to the man who feels it his duty out of his great abundance to pour abundantly into those channels which will promote the spiritual, the intellectual, the moral, and the physical well being of his fellow men and fellow women. It is admirable for the man of many millions to contribute millions, though he may have millions left which are beyond the dreams of the great majority of his fellow citizens ever to acquire—all honor to him that he does it when so many do not.

But the greatest honor and the sweetest incense of praise still goes to the widow's mite, to her who went hungry that the hungrier might be fed. And during all these years as I have known this church and known intimately most all of its members and have been familiar with their financial condition, there has in these contributions always been that element of sacrifice. The subscription paper, the money in the box, represented the giving up of something which was much wanted, much desired, and which would have given comfort to the giver, but it was given up with cheerfulness because of the consciousness of the giver and of the joy of giving.

In the next world there will be crowns for all who have helped their fellowmen; but there will be the incense of praise from Almighty God for those who stand in the rank of the widow who put her mite on the plate. And that has been the record of this church for the whole seventy-five years and of ninety-nine per cent. of its members.

My friends, I trust we will be here when another twenty-five years comes and we round the end. Seventy-five years in the dull record of a speech or of an historical narrative in an organization like this is a mere suggestion and a poor one at that, of what the church has done. Think of seventy-five years and the souls that have been saved. Think of seventy-five years and the characters that have been built up. Think of seventy-five years and the sinners who have been rescued and have been placed upon the right course. Think of the seventy-five years and the contributions of manhood and womanhood, of citizenship and Christianity to this community and to the world. Put it in a monument, make it conspicuous, and look at it and the whole world would gaze in admiration at what they saw. We are here but not alone. I feel as I stand here in the midst of these sacred associations that those who have gone are here too. I feel that

among the heavenly hosts they are forming their congregations and are looking with approving interest and with gratitude, that the old church which did so much for them is still continuing its career of usefulness. And my friends, as the messages come on these invisible wires from the saints in heaven whom we have loved and adored to us who are here, let us pray heaven that their inspiration and our hopes may both be valuable in the continuance of this beneficent work on and on until the end of time.

## At the Banquet of the American Chamber of Commerce, at Paris, July 4, 1902.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

That I have come from London on purpose is the best evidence I can give of the pleasure I have in celebrating once more our country's birthday with the American Chamber of Commerce at Paris. On the fifth of July all at home are interested in what their countrymen are doing or have done on Independence Day, wherever they may be. For historical and fraternal reasons, no celebration is looked to with more interest than that of the Americans in the French capital. It is an inspiring thought that, wherever there is an American citizen on any spot on the globe to-day, he is thinking of his country and glorying in its wonderful progress and position. Wherever there are two Americans they are holding a meeting, and one of them is reading the Declaration of Independence and the other is delivering a Fourth of July oration. There is no place which is inhabitable where there are not two Americans. But while I have witnessed the ever enthusiastic receptions of our National Day, I have never before seen the bonds between the United States and France so cordially united as when the representative of the French Government, the distinguished Minister of Commerce, conferred a decoration upon the President of this Chamber of Commerce—the Legion of Honor—and then kissed him on both cheeks. I am somewhat of an expert in kisses, but I never did that.

First, before we let ourselves loose, as it were, in the hilarity, enthusiasm and joyousness of the occasion, we extend to King Edward VII and the English people our profoundest sympathies upon the calamity which interrupted their great pageant and ceremonial. In the tragic events which deprived the United States of Presidents

Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley, the first and tenderest messages which came to a stricken people were from Queen Victoria and King Edward, expressing not only their own feeling, but those of their people. Americans in reciprocal sympathy of that sentiment everywhere to-day, in the midst of their own joy, extend to the stricken King, to his family, and to his people their most cordial regards and best wishes for his recovery. I was in London expecting to witness the coronation, and never in my life, although I have seen most of the great pageants all over the world, have I observed such a wealth of decorations, such an inpouring of people, and such an expression of enthusiasm as characterized the preparations for this coronation. I could not help being struck with the contrast between the sad and sudden ending of the coronation and what I had witnessed in Buffalo since I was here last, when President McKinley died, and a few minutes afterward, in the humble library of a lawyer's dwelling, a Justice of the Supreme Court, a few members of the Cabinet and half a dozen citizens gathered together for the inauguration of a President of the United States. A few words by the Secretary of War announcing the tragic death of the President and the request of the Cabinet that the Vice-President assume the office; the oath of office read by the Judge and solemnly taken by the Vice-President; no military, no music, no pageant, no uniforms, plain American citizens all, and in an instant there had been transferred from the dead hand of McKinley to the young and vigorous grasp of Roosevelt all there is of sovereignty in the Presidency of the United States.

While in London I studied the liturgy and ceremony of the coronation. The first thought which struck me was the enormous advance and separation, in about one hundred and thirty-five years, of America from Great Britain on the subject of sovereignty. The coronation ceremony is a religious one, with all the pomp, pageantry and splendor of its feudal origin. It is, in its most solemn form, a recognition of the unity of Church and State and of the concentration of the headship of the Church and sovereignty of the Empire in the King. The King

swears to maintain the Church and its relations with the State; the Church, in its homage, offers to the King its services and its lands, recognizing him as its head; the Royal family pledge to the King their lands, their limbs and their lives; the nobility do homage, offering, also at his behest, their lands, their limbs and their lives. Without a dissenting voice, there is a recognition that all the liberties of the press or people have been only such as have been given or surrendered by the Crown, and that all other sovereignty not so delivered still remains intact in the throne. No Englishman disputes this, no subject of the British Crown all over the world, with its many races, tongues and peoples, but acknowledges it. One hundred and thirty-six years ago, ten years before 1776, Washington and every signer of the Declaration of Independence would have cordially assented to the doctrine that the sovereignty of the Nation was in the throne. In the United States all that is now absolutely reversed. It is difficult for an American of to-day to appreciate or understand it. It has been my privilege to listen to the inaugurals of most of our Presidents, from Lincoln down, and the tone of every one of them was deference to the people. Speaking to the multitude from the east front of the capitol, the President says to those present and to the whole country which will read it the next day, "This is my message. It embodies the commission which you have given me to execute. I promise so to do with all my strength and mind, and at the end of four years to surrender to your sovereignty the authority which you have temporarily conferred upon me, in order to carry out your commands and your will." There is no religious ceremony, the oath of office is not administered by an archbishop or priest, but by the Chief Justice of the United States. This precedent, established at the time of Washington and continued ever since, embodies no disrespect to the Church, but simply emphasizes, in the most emphatic way, the separation of Church and State. But while there has been this absolute reversal of all ideas of sovereignty with us, the Mother Country and what were her colonies have grown together in the liberalization of law. It has been

largely the example of the United States, and the beneficent results of its liberty, which have produced this result. When Washington was inaugurated there was in Great Britain little freedom of the press, the libel laws were infamous, there was persecution of Catholics and Jews, there was capital punishment for the slightest offenses, there was a limited and corrupt electorate, there was no popular suffrage. To-day all those things have been swept away and, with the exception of those retained which the Englishman loves in his throne and his nobility, he has the same liberties as the citizens of the United States.

Even on the Fourth of July we accord to every nation that catholicity of opinion which says, as the old lady said when she kissed the cow, "Everybody to their taste." If they prefer their institutions, all well, but we know ours are the best in the world.

Those who have been abroad for a few years can hardly know that damsel of glorious beauty, perennial youth and perpetual life—Miss Columbia. In the last two years she has acquired world-wide reputation and influence, and it has made her something of a flirt. First John Bull said: "My dear girl, we are cousins, don't you know. Between us are ties of blood and kinship. When all Europe would have united and have given infinite trouble and made you lose rivers of blood and mints of money in your Spanish war, we prevented it, and surely, my dear girl, you must know how fond I am of you. Blood is thicker than water." Miss Columbia courtesies, grasps John's hand, and, with her sweet smile, says: "Dear John, I never can forget. I can't marry you, John, but I will be a sister to you."

The German Kaiser, whose keen eye circles the world every twenty-four hours, says to his Chancellor, "This will never do," and so he sends his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, to the United States. A gallant soldier, handsome, courtly and fascinating, he appeals at once to Miss Columbia's pride and admiration. He says, "You must remember, Fraulein, that in your great trouble, Frederick the Great, my great-grandfather, had admiration for your Washington, but that is nothing compared to the



affection which my brother, the Emperor, has for you, and Columbia says, "Say to your brother that his sentiments are reciprocated," and the Prince carries back not only the words but the looks of the charming girl when she delivered the message. He can't wear that smile in his buttonhole like the decoration of the Legion of Honor, but he values it more. Then France says, "Where do we come in?" and she gathers the descendants of her Lafayette, her Rochambeau and her de Grasse and sends them over with the message which always thrills an American: "In your hour of trial, when no Government of the world would recognize you and most were combined for your destruction, we, to secure for you your independence and make you what you are, sent you our army, our fleet, and our best generals, and gave you money and credit. Surely without that your success would have hardly been possible." And Columbia replies: "Yes, gratitude and affection, growing with the years, makes France nearer and nearer to me in every circle. Others may have my eloquence, but you have my heart." And now that she has become a Republic like ourselves, the tie is closer, and our mission more united. Miss Columbia's position is friendship for all, alliance with none. She will extend her peaceful conquests by every legitimate method, but her hand and her fortune she will keep for herself.

Since I addressed you a year ago to-night, has occurred one of the most dramatic and interesting episodes in modern history. Conquests have always had but one ending, wars which have been waged for the freedom of helpless peoples have always led to the destruction of their sovereignty and the absorption of their territories. The United States, unable longer to endure the intolerable tyranny upon the Island of Cuba, entered upon war for the purpose of freeing the Pearl of the Antilles. Victory came in a manner so signal that it has no parallel in warfare, and then was imposed upon the United States the most difficult task of rehabilitating a ruined and bankrupt people, of restoring order where for so long there had been neither law nor respect for life and property. In

two years the island was pacified, the brigand had become a farmer, the guerilla had gone to work in peaceful industries, courts had been established, and the United States said to Cuba, "Now you can govern yourself." She adopted a constitution, elected her president and her Congress, and said to the United States, "We feel able to go alone." Then came the great act of magnanimity and a magnificent contribution to civilization. The United States said, "We demand nothing by way of indemnity for our losses or our expenditure; they are all freely given." The American flag was hauled down, but hauled down in honor and glory. The lone star of Cuba rose in its place. A new nation took its place in the family of the nations of the world, created by the efforts, by the blood and by the treasure of the people of the United States. Since I was here last year, Porto Rico, under the inspiring influences of the American Government and its institutions has arisen from the depths of poverty and distress to affluence and prosperity. To-day will be signed the Civil Government Bill for the Philippines, which passed Congress in its last hours, on the 1st of July. The Philippine archipelago, which has known nothing but disorder, bad government, rapine and robbery for three hundred years, will find itself this Fourth of July clothed with the powers, the authority and the beneficence of representative institutions.

The American task was the pacification of more than one hundred islands and ten millions of peoples of different languages and degrees of civilization, and at the end of three years, with an expenditure of \$170,000,000, with an army which never exceeded 70,000 and with a loss of less than 10,000, these islands are now enjoying peace, law and prosperity. They are to be in time marvelously prosperous as free communities, and of the highest commercial advantage to the United States. Already 8,000 Yankee school teachers, the advance guard of American liberty, are teaching the islanders the principles of the Constitution of the United States and of the Declaration of Independence and imbedding them in their souls by teaching to their tongues and voices, the

words, music and spirit of the "Star Spangled Banner" and of "Yankee Doodle."

At the moment of greater prosperity, of greater power and wealth, of greater influence in the affairs of the world, than at any time in her history, the United States remembers what it is our duty to express here in Paris, that when the good ship "Victory" brought Lafayette to America, it not only carried an inspiring presence, but its name was prophecy. When the good ship "Alliance" took back Lafayette to his native country in order to secure assistance for the struggling revolution in America, its name was also deeply and profoundly prophetic. Victory and friendship—victory for liberty and for the rights of man, and friendship in maintaining them upon the same high lines as Lafayette, Rochambeau and de Grasse and Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Hamilton labored—is the mission to-day of France and the United States.



## At the Republican Ratification Meeting at Carnegie Hall, October 2, 1902.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—As one of your delegates from the County of New York to the State Convention, it seems proper that a record should be made to you of its results. In our convention there were no contests as to membership, but the Democratic Convention admitted the bankers and Wall Street, and fired out Devery, the people's choice in the Ninth. Both parties have now issued from the same city and the same hall their programme of candidates and their platform of principles. We are reminded that conditions remain substantially unchanged. The Democratic platform is full of brilliant promises; the Republican, of brilliant performances. There has been much ridicule of the time-honored expression of the campaign orator that he points with pride. It seems that he and every member of his party points with pride to the record of the organization in its administration when in power, and in the rule of its statesmen. The Republicans can still point with pride to an unexampled record of achievement and of measures which have wonderfully benefited the country, while the Democracy has lost its index finger. It has become paralyzed by disuse. New York has been fortunate with her governors of both parties. We have no record of an unworthy occupant of the gubernatorial chair. But the executive is always handicapped or helped by his principles and his surroundings. He cannot escape from the one without deserting his party; he cannot avoid the other without quarreling with the party leaders.

Mr. Coler is an estimable gentleman, but he has had no familiarity with our State or our Federal affairs. New York State is a great business corporation. The manager

of this corporation must look after the working of its canals, its public works, its public institutions of every kind, and the administration of its finances. It is a duty which requires both ability and experience. On that score of ability and experience, we must necessarily compare Mr. Coler with Governor Odell. If we grant to Mr. Coler the largest measure of ability, integrity and earnestness, we still, in order to make him Governor, must dispense with one of the ablest and most successful managers of our State affairs we ever had. In the management of the business of the commonwealth of New York by Governor Odell, the whole people have benefited, whether they were Republicans or Democrats, or Populists, or Socialists. One problem has been before every governor of our State since its organization, and that has been the burden of taxation. While very few people reflect upon this serious question, and many believe that taxes reach only people of property, they affect everyone. This tax upon real estate diminishes the income of the householder. It is added to the rent of the tenant by the landlord. It is added by the storekeeper on the goods or food which he sells. The tax on real estate is not only taken from the income of the rich, but from the wages of the workingman. The Republican party has devised a scheme by which this tax can be lifted as far as possible from real estate and placed upon corporations created by the State franchises and licenses—all of which can and ought to pay.

Two years ago we elected a Governor who has one of the best business heads in the country. He at once applied his trained and skilled ability as a business man to this great problem of the relief of the people from the burden of the State taxation, and at the same time maintaining the efficiency of the State administration. The results of this tried and experienced business management, under Governor Odell have been marvelous. The charitable work which formerly fell upon the counties had been imposed upon the State. This has enormously increased the State tax while it has relieved local taxation. In a great commonwealth like ours, the expenses of the State

government necessarily increase from year to year. It requires stern resolution to keep them down. All governors have applied the knife and blue pencil, but none more sternly and heroically than Governor Odell. The State expenses have been increased largely because of the assumption of this charitable work, of good roads, and by increased facilities for popular education, some \$5,000,000 since Governor Flower, the last Democratic governor. Notwithstanding this increase, Governor Odell has succeeded in so distributing the burden of taxation upon organizing and existing corporations, and upon liquor traffic, that the burden of State taxation, which rested so heavily upon the farmer and the householder, for the first time in the history of the State no longer exists. At the same time our public works and State institutions and every bureau of administration were never more ably nor wisely administered. The problem solved by the Governor was one of those miracles of finance which can only be accomplished with the greatest ability and by the largest experience. To perfect this system of taxation, which no one feels, requires at least two years more. The question before the people of the State is, whether they will leave it in the hands of their officer who has done so well, or experiment with an untried executive. We are about to enter upon large expenditures for the canals and for public works. That burden must also be so adjusted that while the work is well done, it will not weigh upon our people, but will be borne by indirect taxation. If we are wise, we will leave the continuance and perfection of this policy in the masterful hands of its creator. No one having deposits in the savings bank or who is interested in any business whatever, whether railroads, or banking, or insurance, or manufacturing, or farming, would turn out the tried, proved, and successful and eminently satisfactory manager to try an experiment. The Republican convention at Saratoga not only thus gave the opportunity to the people of the State to re-elect Governor Odell, but they placed upon the ticket with him for Lieutenant Governor Senator Higgins. Senator Higgins has been chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate during all the period of

this successful legislation for the transfer of the burden of taxation from those who cannot well bear it to those who can well stand it, and, therefore, is a worthy assistant for our Governor.

The rest of the ticket are all gentlemen of experience in public affairs, tried in the service of the State and eminently worthy of the places for which they have been nominated.

The time has arrived when the Republican party must give an account of its stewardship, both in the United States and in the State of New York. For five years it has controlled the government of the United States in the executive and legislative branches. For two years Governor Odell, who has been renominated, has held the office of the Chief Executive of the Empire State. No party in the history of free government ever went more confidently before the people on the results of its past and present measures than does the Republican party. It has fulfilled its promises; it has met all the obligations which it undertook in its platforms, and the results have been beyond anything ever expected or hoped for by the most ardent believer in our principles. The party's five years have made history in more varied fields and in greater rapidity than occurs once in a century. The victories of the soldiers and the sailors of the United States have made new geographies for the school room, new maps for cabinets and diplomats, and new adjustments of the balance of power among the great powers of the world. The closing of three hundred years' rule of one of the oldest empires in both the eastern and western hemispheres, in a campaign of a hundred days, was the most dramatic incident of our period upon the stage of the world. The future historian, who writes with the word-painting eloquence of a Macaulay, will draw in broad lines and vivid rhetoric the sudden rise of the United States into a military, naval, diplomatic, and industrial position of the first rank among nations. Other countries have become quickly prominent by the progress of their arms, the achievements of their navy, the skill of their diplomats, the genius of their authors and educators, or the perfec-



tion of their workmanship in the products of industry. But it was a feature in only one line of activity. From the inauguration of McKinley in March, 1897, to the close of the first year of Roosevelt, which terminated last month, there has been no field of endeavor in which a nation can become prosperous at home and abroad in which the United States has not been triumphant. The victories of our army in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines were not accidents; the splendid triumphs of our navy at Manila and Santiago under Dewey, and Sampson, and Schley, were not accidents; the reversal of the financial position of our country from a debtor to a creditor nation was not an accident; the development of our industries in two years from paralysis and stagnation to the highest point of production, efficiency, employment and wages in our history was not an accident; the invasion of the markets of the East and of the Old World, in the various centers of their activity in the same lines of work, was not an accident; the freeing of Cuba and making her a nation, the preparing of Porto Rico for self-government, and the restoration of peace and promotion of education in the Philippines are not accidents. They are the results of consistent, persistent, and courageous Republican policies and principles. They are the resistless genius of a free people relieved from the thralldom of false finance and economic theories, and solving their problems upon right lines, led by such men of supreme and commanding executive ability as William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

While this unequalled and unexampled progress has been unchecked, what has been the policy, what the effort to accelerate it, of the party of negation? The only affirmative act of Democratic statesmen in the events which have placed before us the most critical problems of our generation was the ratification by their votes of the treaty with Spain which left upon our hands Porto Rico and the Philippines. The one affirmative act for the last forty years in our industrial history of the Democratic party was the repeal of the McKinley law, and the enactment of the Wilson Tariff, which overthrew protection in

the interest of a tariff for revenue only. The Wilson Tariff led to the most disastrous and painful of financial and industrial panics of modern times in any country.

The ratification of the treaty with Spain was wise statesmanship; but it carried with it the duties and obligations of constructive administration. It made necessary the pacification of Cuba and a policy for a government suited to the different conditions of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The national honor was involved in the possession and government of these new acquisitions. The national conscience was alive to our duties to these people whom we had rescued from unexampled tyranny, which has reduced them to conditions prevailing nowhere else in civilized communities. The world was gazing upon us, skeptical of our honesty and our ability. By this non-partisan vote, which ratified the treaty with Spain, the obligations of both parties were the same in respect to these problems. It was an opportunity rarely offered to the opposition to make a brilliant record of constructive statesmanship. But no party either in power or in opposition ever exhibited such utter inability to meet sudden crises and courageously grasp great opportunities. Objection and criticism may be useful as brakes upon progress, but they never by themselves build the road, or span the stream, or construct the workshops, or turn out the cars and locomotives, or dare to run the train. Not a single suggestion in a solitary measure in the long discussion and laborious work for the adjustment of the Cuban situation, the relief of Porto Rico, the pacification and government of the Philippines, has come from the Democratic representatives in either House of Congress. Whether it be business and its competitive conditions, in critical cases at the bedside of the sick, when life hangs upon the decision of the doctor, or in the restoration of order and peace, and the inauguration of law and liberty and justice and government among alien peoples suddenly come under the sovereignty of a great nation, the easiest way for the man or the country who has the responsibility is to scuttle and run. But this is not American. It is not the spirit which fought the Revolu-

tion, which crossed the Alleghanies and the Rockies and reached the Pacific Coast, while settling and organizing prosperous states. It is not the spirit which at Appomattox fixed the future of our country for unity and liberty. It is not the spirit which animated statesmen of the Colonial period of the Continental Congress, the soldiers of the Revolution, the heroes of our war of 1812, and our war with Mexico. It is not the spirit which acquired Louisiana and Florida, and California and New Mexico, and Arizona, and gave us the mouth of the Mississippi. It is not the spirit which brought us industrially out of the panics of 1837, of 1857, of 1873, of 1884, and of 1894. It is not the spirit which neither dismayed nor discouraged, in 1897 opened the mills and the factories and the mines and out of unprecedented financial and industrial distress created equally unprecedented financial and industrial prosperity. The Republican party felt that it had a work to do which, though difficult, could be accomplished. No work is worth anything unless it be difficult. The administration of Cuba for two years is a monument of wise policies, and their efficient execution, to turn a population long accustomed by civil strife to brigandage and lawlessness into the walks of peaceful industry, by wise sanitation to turn the plague spot of the Western Hemisphere into one of the healthiest of communities, to turn chronic revolutionists into law-abiding citizens and train them, in a short while, to self-government—these were the works of Republican measures and Republican government in Cuba. At every step our Democratic friends sounded alarms and predicted failure. In Porto Rico we had, in addition to the difficulty of handling an over-crowded population, which had never known self-government or unbribed justice, a most distressful industrial condition. A catastrophe had fallen upon the island which had wiped out all its sources of labor and of income. Its sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations, upon which its people had been depending, had been destroyed. Had this calamity occurred while Spain was still administering the affairs of the island, the world would have been called upon to contribute to the starving population. We prepared a

scheme of government which we believed would give to the island credit and financial strength, and enable its administration to assist the planters and rehabilitate industries. It required months for this remedial measure to become a law. At every step it was assailed as unconstitutional, as ruinous policy and revolutionary. But finally, over all opposition and adverse criticism, our measures became laws. The result has been wonderful. The industries of the island are more prosperous than ever before. Its imports have been trebled; its exports quadrupled. School houses have been established everywhere and are sustained by the solvent finances of the country. Courts of justice have been created where justice is administered, and a legislative assembly in which the islanders govern themselves. This productive and populous island of the Caribbean Sea, two years ago a desolation, to-day a paradise, is an object lesson of wise administration and beneficent policy against which no comments or criticism can prevail.

We are in possession of the Philippine Islands by a title which Spain held undisputed for over three hundred years, and by conquest. Outside of an insignificant number of our citizens, compared with the great mass, no one in this country disputes our title, and it is admitted by every nation in the world. Possession thus acquired of distant provinces and alien people has usually been for exploitation for the benefit of the conqueror or purchaser, and the colonies have been administered, without regard to the rights of the natives, upon commercial principles. We have acknowledged from the start that our first responsibility was to the islanders themselves, that among the duties inherently belonging to the sovereignty we had assumed was the welfare of the people of these dependencies. Our first duty was to establish peace, law and order. Leaving out the tremendous differences, in principle, between the war in South Africa, and the acquisition of the two Republics, and the war in the Philippines, or the suppression of insurrection, a comparison can be drawn of expenditure and results. The war in South Africa, against a people numbering 300,000 men, women

and children, was carried on for three years at a cost to Great Britain of 90,000 killed, wounded and invalided, with an army kept to the full efficiency of 270,000, and at a cost of \$1,500,000,000. The Philippine Islands have a population of 10,000,000. The American army there has never exceeded 70,000. Our losses from all sources have not exceeded 7,000, and the total expenditures during the war have been \$300,000,000. Every vestige of insurrection in the Philippine Islands, except in the one Mohammedan settlement, which, all told, numbers about 15,000, has absolutely disappeared. The education and intelligence of the islands are wholly in favor of the American Government. The Commission, whose head is one of the most eminent administrators of our time, Governor Taft, a Republican, ably assisted by Governor Wright, an ex-Confederate and a Democrat, has been one of the most successful efforts of administration in any colony by any country. These capable and distinguished administrators advised Washington that the time had come when the military could be succeeded by the civil authority. The bills which passed Congress after six months of weary debate and factious opposition, were simply to accomplish that purpose on the one hand, and on the other to create a financial system for the up-building of the credit and development of the Philippine Islands. At every step of their progress these two bills were fought with a vigor and intensity and ability seldom seen in legislative discussions. They were made the basis of an attack on President McKinley for what he had done in the Philippines, an attack on President Roosevelt for what he is doing in the Philippines, an attack on Admiral Dewey for what he did in the Philippines, an attack, a vicious and brutal one, on the American army for what they are doing in the Philippines. In all these six weary months of fiery eloquence from our Democratic friends, there is but one word of praise, and that is for Aguinaldo—Washington Aguinaldo—who admits the assassination of his chief lieutenant, because he feared that Luna would wrest from him his power, and who confessed in the diary, which came into the possession of our soldiers, that when

the Americans were driven out and his government established, he and his friends would take a million of dollars out of the treasury and go to Europe and have a good time. Where before there was only spoliation and robbery of the people, there is to-day American justice, American respect for law and American security for vested rights. The Filipino knows that his home and his title to it are as secure as any home of any citizen in the State of New York, and as thoroughly protected. There are 70,000,000 acres of land in the Philippines of which only 5,000,000 are in private ownership and the rest belong to the government. Our bill provides, under the wise provisions which have made our homestead laws so popular, and have built our Western States, for the homesteading of these government lands. We also arranged for the purchase from the Friars, who are so unpopular in the Philippines, of their lands on the most equitable terms, and the transferring of these properties to the people who had been upon them working for these bodies for generations. It is legislation exactly on the lines that the Irish patriots are demanding for Ireland. One thousand American school teachers, supplemented by four thousand Filipino teachers, who have been instructed by the Americans, are teaching 200,000 Filipino children. The schoolhouse has taken the place of the fort; it has taken the place of grim war. In these schools the children who are to be the future governors and moulders of public opinion among these people, are learning American law and liberty, American history and institutions, and are becoming as devoted to the flag and as instinct of its meaning as those anywhere who are enjoying the blessings for which it stands.

The American soldiers, everywhere, have become teachers of these people, and have carried everywhere—except at places where they have been attacked, ambuscaded, betrayed, assassinated and tortured—the lesson of their homes. It has been a dreary task to sit day after day, week after week in the United States Senate and hear the American Army assailed, attacked as butchers, as tor-

tutors, as a disgrace to the flag and uniform of that organization.

While the British Army, which returned from South Africa, has been hailed with the wildest acclaim and loaded with every possible honor, the American Army, fighting under the most disheartening circumstances of climate and adversaries in the Philippines, has been vilified at home as no army ever was before. It has been subject to an endless series of court martials, of which three hundred have grown out of these charges, and of which there have been only three convictions. There have been no orders to the army in the Philippine Islands which have equalled in severity those given by Lincoln and carried out by Grant and Sherman and Sheridan during the Civil War. There have been no burning of farmhouses and of villages and destruction of property like that in the Shenandoah Valley under the orders of Sheridan. "Cruel and hell," Sherman says, war always is, but it has been reserved for a German critic, sent to the Philippines by one of the German papers—an officer of distinction—to say that under provocations, such as few armies ever experienced, the American Army has shown a humanity and self-restraint which armies of no other nations would have done under similar circumstances. That there have been instances of water cure and other methods of procuring information from Filipinos, caught red-handed in the act of ambuscading and assassination, has been proved, but they have been few and far between; and in measuring the heinousness of the crime, we must also, in justice, recall the provocations. In every instance the act followed upon the discovery that comrades, who had surrendered, who were prisoners, or who had been captured under the pretense that the parties coming to them were friends, had been tied to trees, had been burned for hours and hours, had been slowly ripped open—subject to every fiendish method of excruciating torture known to the North American Indian, and then, finally, cut to pieces and thrown into the swamps. When soldiers come upon comrades who have been thus treated, human nature asserts itself and overturns all the teaching of centuries of civilization. One of these in-

stances, in my own knowledge, was the son of an Irish janitor of a building. He had the advantages of the public schools of New York. His Congressman nominated him for West Point. He graduated with honor. In the village, where his little company was stationed, the people pretended to be friends, but when most of the command was away, he was seized, tortured with every conceivable method of fiendishness, mutilated, and then killed. When his comrades returned, they endeavored to find the authors of this outrage. They took the means to do it, and thus did discover and then killed them. The water torture was wrong, but on every principle of civilized warfare, they were right in burning the town and killing the assassins. The army in the Philippines is our army; its members are our brothers, our sons, our relatives, our fellow-citizens. Under most trying circumstances, they have been maintaining the sovereignty of the United States, the honor of the flag, and the traditions of the army. To them must be accorded the credit for the peace which now prevails in that great eastern archipelago. Not the peace of death, for only a few of the vast population have been killed, but a peace which these islands have never known before; a peace which carries with it the home, the church, the schoolhouse, the law court, justice, liberty and opportunity. The peace which will develop, and education which will result in the end—and that end not far distant—in representative self-government through these dependencies.

One of the contentions made in the long debate which preceded and followed until the end, the legislation for the suppression, by the civil government, of the military in the Philippine Islands, was the constant charge that the Government had no authority for Porto Rico, for Cuba, or for the Philippines. The most wonderful instrument of government ever devised by man is the Constitution of the United States. Instead of being a hide-bound instrument, because it is in writing, it is the most elastic document ever penned. It has served from the time when we had but 3,000,000 people to now when we have a population of 80,000,000, and our country extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and by the annexation of the Philippines,



thousands of miles from our coast. I have often wondered what would be the position of the United States to-day if the doctrines of the Democratic party had been carried out rigidly from the formation of the Government. Jefferson doubted the power to purchase the Louisiana Territory. But the people compelled him to take from France that magnificent domain, out of which have been created fifteen States of our Union which are to celebrate in 1904 the beneficent legislation which made them part of the American Union. We never could have taken Florida from Spain. We never could have had the mouth of the Mississippi. We never could have had the Territories which we could have acquired from Mexico. We never could have had our possessions on the Pacific coast. There was no specific authority for our interfering with our forces in Cuba, no specific authority for our governing that island for two years until we could place it on its feet, and no specific authority for our taking Porto Rico, and none for our governing its people. There was no specific authority for our sending an army to Cuba or to China, and we did. There is no specific authority for the United States becoming a world power, as it is to-day, and we are one because the Constitution recognizes the inherent and expansive powers of sovereignty, which are necessary for the existence and growth of any government.

The Democratic campaign book makes the greatest issue of this canvass the question of the trusts. Its methods of dealing with the so-called trusts, or combinations, is to adopt measures to crush them. It gives you a list of about three hundred of the so-called trusts which employ ninety per cent. of the wage earners in the United States, outside of the farms and the railroads. In proposing to dissolve these corporations, it makes no suggestion or no provision for the cataclysm which would follow. With the means of communication which have become so marvelous in our time, both by rail and by water, and of intelligence by cable, by telegraph and telephone, all markets are interdependent. What would follow in the suspension of industries, in the paralysis of employment, and in the financial disasters from the overthrow of our present business

methods, and the building up of new ones upon some other unknown scheme, the imagination cannot conceive. The trusts, the combinations and the corporations might be destroyed, but so would everybody else. This is a grave question, and not to be approached in a hysterical manner. Business has been in evolution all over the world ever since there has come into it the control of these vast powers of nature—steam and electricity. There have been predictions of dire distress at every step from the stage coach to the locomotive, from the canal boat to the steamship, from the forge to the trip-hammer, from the hand machine to the automatic one. In practical results, however, while there has been, from time to time, a temporary derangement of employment, and people have had to learn new trades, every advance in the utilization of electricity, of steam, of communication and of speed has given larger employment and greater wages, has given expanding markets and greater purchasing power, has given increased production, but with it an equal demand, and so prevented paralyzing congestion. When I first entered the railway service, the Hudson River Railroad and the New York Central were antagonistic. Passengers and freight had to be unloaded at West Albany and rechecked and reticketed and reloaded at East Albany. The same was true at Buffalo, at Cleveland and at Detroit. To-day the passenger takes his seat at the Grand Central Depot and, without further bother or trouble from exchanges, lands in Chicago. The same is true in regard to conditions as to freight. Then it took three days to go to Chicago, and now one can go there in twenty hours at one-half the expense. The freight rate, because of those conditions and disconnected lines, was 1 1-2 cents per ton a mile. That rate, at this time, would be prohibitive for the vast interchange of commerce in our country. Prohibitive of the food products of the West coming to the East, of the manufactures of the East going into the interior. These railway combinations, from which so much harm was predicted and so many evils promised, have proved methods by which the country has been peopled and its resources developed. No one now would be insane enough to break up these railway lines into their original

elements and go back to the old methods. They have led to a vastly greater increase of employment, and to a wage scale which is nearly three times greater than it was forty years ago. Within the past two years, the manufacturers of the United States have been competing successfully in the markets of the Orient with their iron, their steel and their textile fabrics against the older countries of Europe. They have been selling rails to Russia against German competition, and locomotives against British competition. They have been selling products in all countries of Europe against home competition. They have been selling cloth in Great Britain against the looms of the mother country. This American invasion, as it is called, because of our better method and the greater skill of our mechanics and the greater perfection of our machinery, and the greater production, because of the enormous capacity which was made possible by combination, became so severe that we were known in Europe as "the American Terror." The cabinets of the Old World are seriously considering what measures they can frame to keep out the products of our mills, and our mines. Now they have taken to the study of American methods. The best experts in every line of production are sent over here from Germany, from Great Britain, from France, Austria, and Italy, and even from Russia. They are making elaborate reports as to our methods and how they can be adopted over there, in order to keep their trade. The last of these reports, made by one of the ablest experts in all Europe, Dr. Bell, within the last few days, says that the success of American manufacturers, the phenomenal growth of our production, the extraordinary perfection of our products and our ability to compete on equal terms everywhere, have been brought about by two things—protective tariff and trusts. Remember this is an Englishman and free-trader, a gentleman educated to believe that his country can hold the markets of the world forever by her traditional industrial policy, and yet, when he finds those markets slipping away, and he comes here to study the methods and policies of the great rival who is supplanting his countrymen, he carries back this startling discovery:

"England," he says, "if you would compete with America, you must have a protective tariff, and you must have trusts." He need not to have said to his countrymen they should have trusts, because every industry in Great Britain is now in a trust. Combinations are going on there now every day which enlarge competition and concentrate the management of all their industries. This is not brought about over there, as is charged here, by the protective tariff, but by tendencies which are at work in every country and which nothing can prevent. No one can doubt who will study the question that industries, production, employment and wages have been enormously increased by these combinations of capital and the corporations. But while this is true, it is equally true that great corporations created by the State should be subject to governmental supervision and regulation. The greatest enemies of these great industrial combinations are the managers who oppose wise legislation which will accomplish this end. It is within the period of my own active management of the railways, when the whole railway sentiment of the country, investment, management and employment was against governmental supervision. Securing the approval of my associates for the legislation, I think I can honestly claim to be the author of the Railroad Commissioners of our State. The results have been most beneficent. There did exist railway abuses, but those abuses have disappeared. The fact that any citizen or any employee can have his complaint heard without cost and at an expense of a 2-cent stamp to carry his petition has done away with grievances on the one side and causes for complaint on the other. To-day the railway is out of politics in the State of New York. It is out of the Legislature. It is reduced to the point where it ought to be of a legitimate business carried on under charters of the State and subject to the control and supervision of the State. Premier Barton of Australia, who recently visited us, expressed amazement at our hysterics at the possible curbs of these great combinations, when there was apparently no law to control them. He gave an interesting exhibition of how the same

conditions existed, the same combinations were controlled, and their hurtful possibilities prevented in the country of which he is Prime Minister and the actual ruler. It was done by the Common Law. To him as administrator, the common law application to these cases had prevented all these complaints in Australia. We have the common law in every State of our country with the exception of Louisiana and a few others.

One of the propositions of Republican administration is a ministry of commerce. In that ministry there can be a bureau like the Inter-State Commerce Commission, with power sufficient for investigation and recommendation to Congress and to the State Legislatures, and publicity to bring every corporation and combination in the country under the supervision of the government and the power of public opinion. I believe that such a bureau should have the power to examine into labor struggles, not as compulsory arbitrators, because that the labor unions do not want, and the country is not ready for, but if at once, when a labor trouble arose, an investigation could be made which would be speedy and complete, of the employer on one side and of his case and the employees on the other side and their case, public opinion would speedily settle the matter. All of these combinations or trusts or great corporations have an inter-State commerce business. It requires no amendment to the Constitution, in my judgment, to reach them. The Supreme Court of the United States, on questions of inter-State commerce, has already indicated what will be its decisions upon legislation regulating this inter-State commerce, and what it will declare to be the law when any one of the evils which are feared and which might happen comes before it for its decision, without stopping the inevitable march of the business of the country, without disrupting the industrial conditions which prevail, without producing financial cataclysms which would be disastrous to all business and all employments. The evils of trusts, of corporations, of combinations are as adjustable, as controllable as is the intelligence of the Legislature, the courage of the executive, the integrity of the prosecuting official

and the learning and ability of the courts. These combinations formed by the consolidation of firms began soon after the Civil War. They came prominently before the public in such a way as to challenge attention of Congress during the administration of President Harrison. It was thought that some method should be devised to prevent monopoly and the various evils that come from the control of great articles of necessity by combination. The first act ever placed on the statute books on this subject was drawn by John Sherman, one of the most distinguished Republicans who ever lived; was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by Benjamin Harrison. For four years, from 1892 to 1896, the Democratic party, most of the time, had possession of the Government. The trust question, which they are now making so much of an issue, was as acute then as it is to-day. All that has since happened was freely predicted in the press and in Congress. No Democrat proposed any remedy whatever. Mr. Bryan was there during most of the time and he had no remedy to suggest. The Republicans proposed a Constitutional amendment, which was defeated by a unanimous vote of the Democratic party, as an infringement of State rights. The Republicans again came into power and for the first time the provisions of the Sherman Law were made vigorous by prosecutions against the various associations which had been formed by the railway companies. Those associations were in no sense combinations nor consolidations. They were advisory organizations not to raise rates, but to give that stability to them by which favoritism could be abolished and everybody treated alike. But the Supreme Court of the United States held that they cannot within the provisions of the Sherman Trust Law, and they were dissolved. This prosecution which proceeded against the association covering all the railways in the United States, the east and the west, and the north and the south, was inaugurated by a Republican President, and prosecuted by a Republican attorney-general. There has been no complaint, whether proceeding from individual citizens or commercial bodies or the State Legislatures, which has reached President Roosevelt which has not immediately

been placed in the hands of the Attorney-General for investigation and action. In every case, no matter how strong the influences behind the new corporation, no matter how much his own friends were attacked by his action, the President, in his resolute determination to enforce the law as it exists, has prosecuted the combinations when advised by the Law Department. So up to this date, all the legislation and all the hostile action against combinations and trusts have been taken under Republican laws and on the initiative of Republican statesmen.

The only remedy which Democratic thought and expression gives for the evils which can come from these great combinations, is to repeal the protective tariff. The protective tariff has created our industries, has developed our resources, has given employment to our labor and generously advanced the scale of our wages. It may not be perfect; it may never have been perfect; but it has accomplished most miraculous results. It has made us independent as to the necessities of life and most of the luxuries. It has met all the requirements of revenue; at the same time it has been so wisely adjusted that America could command her own markets, the best markets of the world. It is the only instrumentality by which American wages could be kept upon the scale of American living and brought in competition with the pauper labor of Europe. To break down the barrier of protection is to break down at once the platform upon which the American artisan views with sympathy and with pity the conditions of his brethren in like employment among the older nations of the world. The tariff is not perfect; from time to time it must be adjusted to meet the conditions in special lines of trade; but whenever the tariff is amended that work must be done, not by its enemies, but by its friends. There is one charge which can be made against the tariff, and that is, not that it has fostered and protects trusts, but that it has stimulated production, and stimulated production means more employment and greater wages. Our country, however, cannot go on forever increasing its production beyond the limit of the home market without producing

that congestion which is fatal to prosperity. We must expand our markets. First in the lines of this expansion is reciprocity with Cuba. We are under both moral and legal obligations to that young republic. We set her free; we placed her upon her feet, but we bound her to us by restrictions upon her responsibility of action in the so-called Platt Amendment to our Constitution. Her market is the United States. Unfortunately her productions are only sugar and tobacco. Under the present condition of over-production of sugar, her principal product, in all the world, she cannot place her harvest upon shipboard and sell it in New York at the cost of production. There ought to have been in the last session of Congress, and there must be in the next, such a moderation of our tariff as will permit the Cuban planter to make a living by its production and by its sale in the United States. Coupled with it will be that true reciprocity by which prosperous Cuba will become a customer of the United States beyond any limit which has heretofore existed. There is nothing in the amount of sugar now produced upon the island to endanger the sugar industries in the United States if this concession is granted. Without this industry being successful in Cuba there is to be there a speedy return to the conditions from which we rescued her—to anarchy and brigandage and ruin. Now, there are but 1,600,000 people upon the island, but in ten years there will be 10,000,000. Her mineral resources would be developed and a variety of agriculture would supplement the two products upon which she now depends. Corresponding industries would spring up and corresponding wants. Cuba would become an outlet for our surplus production, and under wise reciprocity we would have practically control of this enormous increase in her markets for our manufactured products.

A year ago, by one of the most infamous crimes of the age, a great President came to his death. No executive has more fully and completely embodied in his opinions and in his acts the ideas and policies which have made our country what it is than William McKinley. In any other land the sudden death of so great a leader, organizer and



ruler would have been followed by startling financial and industrial disasters. The wheels of progress would have been temporarily stopped. The clock of time would have paused in measuring the hours of national prosperity. But four years of preparation and practice in the wise policy of protection; supplemented during McKinley's administration by legislation which placed the country upon a gold standard and our system in harmony with the financial systems of the world, enabled the country to withstand the shock without a tremor in its financial and industrial situation. The nation mourned, the people followed their beloved President to the grave, and then resumed, as an industrious, vigorous and healthy family always does, the duties of the hour. But it is our fortune and our great fortune, that this remarkable President was succeeded at this critical moment by a trained, able and youthful statesman who had the capacity, the experience, and the genius to meet the existing requirements of the station. Prosperity unchecked has progressed by leaps and bounds from McKinley through the administration of Roosevelt. Again figures become romance. A million more deposits in the savings banks of the country speaks of higher wages and savings possible without retrenchment in style of living. A million and a half more people employed speaks of opened avenues for employment for all who need or who care to work. Three thousand millions of dollars paid off in farm mortgages speaks more eloquently than words of the prosperity which has come permanently to that industry which is the foundation of all other industries. The balance of trade in our favor with foreign countries during these five years in round numbers amounts to three thousand millions, or six hundred millions a year, and states the story of the invasion of foreign markets by our products, of the triumph of our industrial energies, and of the firm basis of our credit and finances. It is an instructive figure often recited, but which cannot be repeated too often, that the balance of trade in our favor from the inauguration of George Washington down to the inauguration of William McKinley in 1897, was only \$383,000,000. Against that we place—notwithstanding a war with a

European power, notwithstanding expenses of government running into higher figures, and the liberal pensioning of soldiers and the greater number of these pensions than ever before—this tremendous increase in five years of an amount greater than the terrific debt which the country had at the close of the Civil War.

Senator Teller, in a recent speech, has said that he started as a Democrat; he became a Republican on the slavery issue because he was always in favor of the party that was the party of freedom. The abolition of slavery was a proposition in the interest of the people, and therefore he became a Republican. But he claims that the gold standard and protection of American industries are not principles which are favorable to the people, and, therefore, he has become a Democrat again, because he believes that free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is the people's policy, and will inure to their benefit. Free silver is 50 cents for a dollar honestly earned, and that is not for the interest of the people. Free trade from 1892 to 1896 put a million of working people upon the highway, seeking employment; created an army of tramps, and placed soup houses in every industrial center, and that is not for the benefit of the people; while the re-enactment of the policy of protection by the Dingley Law, in 1897, has created these conditions in which we live, and in which the people are enjoying this larger measure of good living, of happiness and of homes than ever before in the history of our country, or in any other great industrial community. The contention of the Republican party in power is not, as the critics and the cynics say, simply letting well enough alone, but it is letting the best alone and keeping the best in power.

At Norwalk, Conn., November 5, 1902, on the  
Occasion of the Celebration of the Two  
Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary  
of the Norwalk Congregational  
Church.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There could be no reason for my participation in your celebration except that my great-grandfather one hundred and seventeen years ago was pastor of one of the churches of this foundation at New Canaan and continued as such for twenty-three years. The quaint entry in the records of the church says that "he preached a sermon with unusual engagedness from the text 'Is there any among you afflicted, let him pray,' and at the conclusion of the service he died suddenly." Like all the early Puritan ministers, his prayer was answered that he might be called while leading the forces of the church militant against sin on the battlefield of the world and with his armor on.

We have had now, for many years, the celebrations of the centennials of the battles of the Revolution, of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, of the inauguration of our first President and the formation of the State governments in the older colonies. They have been rich in educational value to the present generation and in inspiration for love of country and patriotic citizenship. For a nation founded as ours was with such deep religious convictions and a connection so close with the church, it is a happy circumstance that we now enter upon the era of memorial services on the anniversaries of the hundred and two hundred years of these old congregations. There are boundless sentiment and charm in looking back over generations of one's ancestors who have attended the same church administration, worshipped under the same roof and followed the same faith.

This settlement in the originality and peculiarity of its formation is both an interesting study and an instructive example. The men who came here with their families were no ordinary colonists. They were the flower of the Puritan settlers of New England and the children first born on this continent of those settlers. They had broadened out beyond the narrowness and the bigotry of the early Puritan church. They wished for larger liberty for themselves and for those who should join them in both civil and religious freedom. They were led by a clergyman who was himself a graduate of the best schools and universities of England, and all of them were in independent circumstances and of fair education. Their first act was to build a church and beside it a school-house. The whole of their civic as well as their religious government was in the town meeting. By universal suffrage the people enacted the laws for their government, elected their magistrates and their minister. The church and the school were equally supported by general taxation. It was an early experiment in communal government, but there was not in it any element of community of goods or of socialism. They built better than they knew in establishing absolute equality for everyone before the law, and in dispensing with all distinctions of class, and in giving the largest liberty to the individual consistent with the safety of the community. Every man felt that the responsibility was entirely with him for his success in life and the place which he would occupy among his neighbors. Ambition was left free to energized effort. The survival of the fittest was based not upon any selfish principles but the highest good of the community. Those who were more largely gifted had a clear field to outstrip their neighbors, but the advancement of the abler and more competent, of the thrifty and more energetic, was not at the expense of their weaker neighbors, but lifted the whole community to a higher plane and with it the lives of all within the settlement. There was no such thing as destructive competition, but competitive construction and building up.

The germ of the communal spirit which this system engendered found its best experiment in the famous Brook

Farm colony. For seven years the most brilliant minds of New England endeavored there to attain greater advantages and accomplish more benefits by the pooling of brains, capacity, industry, health and fortune, by selfishly endeavoring to reach high standards upon the principle that no one should rise in effort or achievement, in dividends or in fortune, beyond the capacity of the least equipped and the laziest. While that brilliant community accomplished nothing in their communal relations, when they were set free by its disbandment and each according to his lights and ability marked out his own career, each rose to great distinction and in rising contributed enormously to the information and happiness of our country. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Hawthorne, Ripley, Dr. Channing, Charles A. Dana, George William Curtis and Theodore Parker were among the more conspicuous of the notable company who failed in the communal experiment and rose to the highest eminence in their several professions when left to their individual efforts. One cannot help being impressed by the eminently practical way in which the town meeting solved its problems and advanced its interest. Two hundred years ago they decided that difficulties in the church and in the town should be settled by two arbitrators selected by the votes of the community and the minister added, and the vote always ran that they "would sit down satisfied with the determination." After two centuries we are only now beginning to recognize this invaluable principle in human affairs. The Hague Conference was a happy beginning in international disputes. The first case under it, which has just been decided, between the United States and the Republic of Mexico has called universal attention to this method of a peaceful solution instead of the bloody arbitrament of arms, which settles nothing. We have also in the arbitration now in progress created under the inspiration of President Roosevelt the beginning of the active exercise of this method of settling disputes in the contests which will hereafter arise between the tremendous forces of our time, of organized capital and organized labor.

The character of the immigration which formed this

community also teaches to us as a nation a much needed lesson for the present. Seventeen millions of all nationalities have come into our country from foreign shores since the formation of our government a hundred years ago. They have been of incalculable value in the settlement of our country. They were eminently to be desired because of their character and capacity to become citizens of a free country like ours. But now that our population is crowding, that our cities are teeming with such hosts who are seeking employment, that the surplus of our labor has become so great that we must seek new markets all over the world, we must exercise greater care in our immigration and build high walls against those who are unworthy of our citizenship and its privileges. The older nations are promoting in every way emigration and making the United States the dumping ground of their undesirable subjects. The protection of our citizenship and the safety of our labor all demand that our immigration laws should be revised; that restrictions should be increased and their provisions should be strenuously enforced.

These old settlers were a resourceful folk. Under the town meeting laws they could not remove a minister. His position was too strong and surrounded by too many spiritual safeguards. But in the budget of taxes for highways, for drainage, for water, for magistracies and the church, they did place, when there was an unpopular minister, a curious provision that there would be no arrears of tax enforced or collected against those who refused to pay the part assigned for the minister's salary.

Connecticut in its relation to the mother country was the most fortunate of the thirteen colonies. It had for its agent in securing its charter a gentleman whose characteristics have impressed themselves ever since upon this commonwealth. He was a graduate of Cambridge University and he had enjoyed the friendship of the great Dutch general, Prince Maurice of Orange, and had lived in intimate association with the ablest statesman and most distinguished scholar of his period. John Winthrop, in concert with the Connecticut clergymen and representatives of the towns, framed a charter and carried it over to

receive the royal assent. Every other charter left the veto power, the appointment of the Governor, the general supervision and paternal direction in the crown, but this courtier, scholar, statesman, Puritan, and gentleman, possessed beyond any man of his time the faculty which distinguishes every citizen of Connecticut—of making a good bargain. By what means he captured the easy-going and yet autocratic good nature of the corrupt Charles II or the judgment and favor of his shrewd and able ministers we are not informed. We do know that he brought home a charter for an absolutely independent colony. It was to make its own laws, form its own government and live its free and independent life upon the most democratic principles. The result was that for a hundred years the colony of Connecticut cultivated civil and religious freedom, founded Yale College, established a common school system and remained a happy community free from the conflicts and governors and ministers of the British Crown which disturbed the peace and prosperity of its neighbors.

Freedom begets freedom and enlarges and liberalizes the people. Connecticut was the haven and the refuge for all religions and all sects. The persecuting spirit was absolutely unknown within its borders. It welcomed Roger Williams when he was expelled from Massachusetts, and the persecuted Quaker found within its borders a hospitable home. Winthrop, in dealing with the king and ministry, whose knowledge of American geography was very limited, secured in his charter the provision that the boundaries of Connecticut should extend from the Narragansett River to the Pacific Ocean. The little matter that Great Britain as yet possessed no title or sovereignty over a large portion of this vast domain did not disturb this original New England expansionist. The sons of Connecticut have in all our history been colonists and frontiersmen. They have carried with them into every community, no matter how much they were in the minority, the Connecticut church, school-house and town meeting. Their aggressiveness, thriftiness, indomitable energy and invariable success have led the more easy-going of their neighbors to proclaim that they were intruders and adventurers. But they

were simply settling upon their own land and abiding within the boundaries of their own territories under that original charter, wherever they might go and magnanimously refusing to question the title or litigate the rights of their neighbors. They were quite satisfied to grow up with these communities without claiming any greater privilege than any one else enjoyed.

It was only a year prior to the forming of this church that the ten Connecticut clergymen at Branford laid each his books upon the table saying, "this will be the beginning of a college," and thus started that glory of Connecticut and of New England and of the United States—Yale University. The value of this commemoration to this community cannot be estimated. It calls attention to this church and to its two hundred years of spiritual life. It calls attention to and study of the wonderful work of the New England clergy in the political upbuilding of our country. They were elected by the town-meeting and so were associated with public affairs. For a hundred years there were no lawyers and there was little litigation. The expenses of Connecticut during its first century were only about \$4,000 a year and its chief justice received ten shillings a day only when in the actual performance of his duties. But the New England minister was always the best educated man in the community. Before Yale and Harvard, he was the product of Oxford and Cambridge. Yale and Harvard were founded for the education of ministers and to prepare them for their great calling as spiritual, legal and political guides. The early pulpit did not hesitate to discuss public questions. It was not partisan. The minister belonged to neither of the organizations that divided the community but when a great moral question was at issue which affected the home and the family the pulpit was outspoken. There were no limitations to the utterances of the minister on subjects which affected the marital relation, the protection of youth or the suppression of vice. He did not deal in generalities but his denunciation reached by individual characterization the sin or the crime.

The New England pulpit was the first to discuss the aggressions upon liberty by the ministers of George III.



It was the first to draw the line between loyalty and law. It was the first to instruct its congregations as to their rights and when, as they would teach, it was the Lord's will that they should fight for their liberties and those of their posterity. The fierce spirit and abiding faith in the righteousness of the cause of the Revolution of the New England minister and especially the Connecticut clergyman are described by the following prayer in the Litchfield church, and preserved in its records, which was offered by the Rev. Judah Champion, when Sheldon's cavalry stopped there over Sunday on their way to join General Washington at West Point: "Oh Lord, we view with terror and dismay the enemies of thy holy religion. Wilt Thou send storm and tempest to toss them upon the sea and to overwhelm them in the mighty deep and scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth! But, peradventure, should any escape Thy vengeance, collect them again together, Oh Lord, as in the bottom of Thy hand, and let Thy lightnings play upon them. We beseech Thee, moreover, that Thou do gird up the loins of these thy servants, who are going forth to fight Thy battles. Make them strong men, that 'one shall chase a thousand and two shall put ten thousand to flight!' Hold before them the shield with which in old time Thou wast wont to protect Thy chosen people! Give them swift feet that they may pursue their enemies and swords terrible as that of Thy destroying angel, that they may cleave them down when they have overtaken them. Preserve these servants of Thine, Almighty God, and bring them once more to their homes and friends, if Thou canst do it consistently with Thine high purposes. If on the other hand Thou hast decreed that they shall die in battle let Thy spirit be present with them and breathe upon them, that they may go up as a sweet sacrifice into the courts of Thy temple, where are habitations prepared for them from the foundation of the world!"

It was the New England pulpit which aroused the national conscience on the subject of slavery. The Thanksgiving sermon of the Rev. Dr. Bacon delivered year after year in the old Center Church at New Haven upon the subject of

this national curse made an abiding impression upon generation after generation of Yale students who settled all over the country, became leaders in their several communities and the uncompromising enemies of slavery. But, my friends, the best and most sacred thought of this hour is the recollection of the saintly men and women who lived their lives under the teachings and in the work of this church. Two hundred years of such examples are not only reflected in the neighborhood, but they are felt all over our country in the sons and daughters of the church who have emigrated to distant states and territories. Each generation has its problems to solve. They may be civil liberty, they may be religious freedom, they may be drunkenness, they may be the sanctity of the marriage tie, they may be socialism, they may be anarchy; but so long as the church—and by the church I mean in its broadest sense every denomination and creed—by preaching and practice is true to its foundation and fearless in its attitude at all times, the heritage which we have received with all its advantages will be transmitted with continued and increased blessings to all generations to come.

**At the Annual Banquet of the Springfield  
Board of Trade at Springfield, Mass.,  
November 13, 1902.**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I have been for many years the recipient of your most attractive invitation to be present at your annual meeting and banquet. I am glad that circumstances at last have given me the time from many exacting duties to enjoy your hospitality. It is a pleasure for a New Yorker to escape from the self satisfaction of his imperial surroundings to get a bit of wholesome truth from New England.

Your Congressman and I can both learn much for our public duties in this company. The advice is constant to the executive and the legislator, to consult the people. We had one statesman, President McKinley, whose ability in ascertaining before he acted the wishes of his constituency has never been equalled. His ear was said to be ever on the ground, and it had become so attuned not only to the roar which the dumbest can understand, but to the murmurs which precede the storm, that he always anticipated the judgment of the country. But we, who are not so gifted, must find our inspiration from many sources, but especially from boards of trade and chambers of commerce.

In the old days the senator or the congressman relied upon the individual. He met him at the town meeting, at that distributive center of discussion and opinion, the horse-shed of the country church, between the morning and evening services, the market place and in the stage coach. The difficulty with individual opinion is, that the advice usually comes from the flatterer who swells your head in order to get something for himself, or a critic who has a grudge and takes this method of making you uncomfortable. We live now, however, in an age of organization, and

organizations compact and present the views of multitudes of people.

Fifty years ago an athletic association in our colleges was unknown. Now the kindergarten has its base ball nine and foot ball eleven and its crew. Then the labor organization was unknown; now gigantic combinations of capital on the one side, are met with equally vigorous and powerful organizations of labor on the other. The representative of the people no longer has to seek advice. It comes to him voluminously in every mail, in the form of resolutions passed by every species of organization. But I know of none whose conclusions are more valuable than those of the chambers of commerce and boards of trade. In them is concentrated at the various centers, depots and reservoirs of the country, every element of production, of manufacture, of distribution, of transportation and of employment. The associations of banks in the various States, have rendered incalculable service to sound currency and wise legislation by their annual meetings. It would be a great gain to commercial, industrial and revenue legislation if the various chambers of commerce and boards of trade also should send delegates to a central body to formulate, after an interchange of views and full discussion, the settled judgment of the men who are thus in contact with our internal and foreign commerce, and with our productive power, possibilities and markets, upon the necessities of the hour.

Statesmen and publicists are endeavoring to find out what were the instructions given to the Congress which was elected a few days ago. Ordinarily it is not difficult to interpret the results of a national canvass and a national vote. But our present situation is obscured by two happenings. The coal strike, because it was the most gigantic and long continued contest between capital and labor, attracted the attention of the whole world, although the contest was wholly within the borders of a single State. But it affected the supply of an article of prime necessity to the family and the factory. The coming of winter meant also the approach of calamity and dangerous conditions of tur-

bulence and riot. These conditions were rapidly crystalizing public opinion into a wholesale condemnation of the party in power. We have not yet reached that period of judicial and passionless intelligence when we can refrain from charging administrations with responsibility for all our ills, financial, pestilential and industrial. Suddenly the air was clarified, the situation reversed, the peril removed by the action of President Roosevelt. It was an exercise of the Presidential function which has evoked no end of hostile criticism on the one hand, and greater popularity from the mass of the people on the other, than any other Presidential act in our time. The highest evidence of its effect is, that for the first time in national relations, the ruler of a foreign country has been cheered in the popular branch of the Congress of another nation, as Roosevelt was in the Chamber of Deputies of France, and second, for the first time since labor and capital assumed such tremendous proportions in their organizations, the President of the United States and the president of a labor organization, whose long struggle had ended, had their portraits carried upon banners side by side at the head of the labor processions. It is therefore impossible to judge how many votes were cast for this or that policy as distinguished from those which were meant for an emphatic endorsement of President Roosevelt. On the other hand, for the first time in six years, the only overwhelmingly eminent national factor in the Democratic party, the only President they have had for over forty years, emerged from the classic shades of Princeton and his retirement under the eaves of the Calvinistic theology of his minister father, to speak for his party, and throw his great influence in the scale. Said a Tammany leader who knows the sentiment of New York City better than any member of that organization, "Cleveland's letter and speech gave to us in the old City of New York alone 18,000 votes from men who hitherto have either voted against us or refrained from voting at all because they were afraid of the new doctrines of our party." We can neither eliminate these two factors, nor estimate the extent of the personality which brought about

the recent results. Therefore the President, the Senator and the Congressman must come back again to you and to all other organizations for light.

We all want the present prosperity to continue. We all deprecate any action by Congress which will check our progress by disturbing our financial or industrial conditions. The independent press and the political philosopher were never so urgent as now in demanding some form of free trade under the alluring cries of anti-trust and revenue reform. The system under which the United States has grown is neither a Bible nor a fetich. It is not the result of superstition or inspiration. It is the practical working out by an elastic and wisely adjusted scheme during a hundred years under the most favorable conditions of a new country and isolation from the old world of the problems of production, development, wealth, distribution and employment. We, protectionists, believe that we have the greatest home market and mightiest productive power, the most marvellous internal interchanges, the highest development of productive energy, the best scale of wages and the greatest comfort and happiness among the people, with the widest distribution of wealth of any country that ever existed, because of this system. We are quite willing to admit, however, that the time has arrived when friends of protection should re-adjust the schedules to existing conditions in a way which they only can so as to neither check nor alarm our manufacturing interests, disturb our markets nor threaten our labor. This should first be done along the lines of reciprocity. The first suggestion of reciprocity years ago was premature and neither our own country, nor those with whom we sought to establish it had been educated to its possibilities and benefits. Now the Cuban proposition is too transparent to be longer delayed and must be acted upon at once. Canada is too large a customer of ours and we buy too little of her to let present conditions remain. We must stimulate our commercial relations with the South and Central American republics and with Mexico. We cannot go too far in a hurry. We must see first, what

• will be the effects of the practical working of these policies. So far as the suggested relations with European governments are concerned, the proposed treaties were too radical. They alarmed our industries. We might stand ten per cent. reduction, for instance, as an experiment, while twenty per cent. creates an alarm which defeats the measure. The financial and industrial distress which followed the actual and threatened legislation in 1892, 1893, and 1894 was caused not so much by what did happen, as by fear of what might happen. If the workings of our industrial economy are artificial, from the theorists' standpoint, nevertheless the machinery has operated most beneficently for our people and our country. We can add and substitute here and there in tariff schedules with benefit, but we cannot, when the balance of trade is six hundred millions of dollars a year in our favor, when our vast export is only five per cent. of our production, when our home market absorbs the ninety-five per cent., fool with the welfare of eighty millions of people and the present and future of the Republic by trying the effect of crow-bars, trip hammers or dynamite on this delicate and intricate mechanism.

We have to differentiate between those combinations which are the natural results of present conditions all over the world and necessary for our competitive existence with the highly organized industrial nations of the globe, and those which attempt to monopolize the necessities of life. For the latter we have the common law, the Sherman anti-trust law, the limitless possibilities of legislation under the great powers of interstate commerce, and the rest must be left, as the enforcement of all laws and the suppression of all evils must, to the courage of the executive, the ability of the prosecuting officials and the integrity of the courts. There is one restraint upon these great combinations which has been little discussed, and that is over-capitalization in manufacturing industries. The Yankee brain originated and has perfected our manufactures up to the present time. After many experiments it decided in view of the fluctuations of trade, of times of depression and prosperity, to keep capitalization always on par with and, if very pros-

perous, below assets. The New England manufacturing company if it gained fifty per cent., would pay twenty-five per cent. and add twenty-five per cent. to the plant, leaving the old capital intact. If very wise, it would place a portion of great gains in productive investments to make firm the dividends during the lean years. In this way the manufacturing stock could be transmitted in the estate with the assurance of an income to the family after the bread winner had gone. Now, in these great manufacturing and industrial combinations of to-day, this process is reversed. Present and possible profits are capitalized. There is no relation between assets and stocks and bonds. When once dividends have begun to be paid upon the preferred and common stocks the competitive power of a vast trust is limited. The credit of the company with banks, the means necessary beyond its actual cash to finance its vast transactions, is dependent upon the confidence which exists only by the continuance of these dividends. The great manufacturing corporation becomes thus an easy mark for skill and capital, the one giving personal attention, and the other representing actual assets which enter into competition. So we see, the larger grows the gigantic combination, the more numerous are the smaller manufacturing plants in one or more or all of the same lines which spring up and take their share of the market in spite of their giant competitor and because it must recognize them.

With our intelligence, our historical research and our knowledge of cause and effect so much greater than that of any other period, if we had the superstition of the olden time, we would worship the dead hand. The dead hand of Napoleon Bonaparte rules France and, in a measure, the continent of Europe under whatever forms of government they exist. The dead hand of Bismark moves the policy in Germany by which its foreign and home markets have been stimulated so marvelously within the last quarter of a century. The dead hand of Cobden governs the policies of Great Britain. The dead hand of Maria Theresa is the motive power in all that relates to Austria. But you will say that this is all very well for the Old World, but the United



States with its marvelous changes, with its progress waiting not even for generations, but making leaps many times in each generation has no dead hand in its affairs. My friends, be not too hasty. Alexander Hamilton devised our financial and largely our revenue system also a hundred years ago. We have outgrown its financial machinery a thousand times but it still exists. It is monstrous that in this enlightened age, and when every civilized country does wisely and differently, that the money collected from the people for taxes should be hoarded and locked out of the people's reach in the Government vaults and that when this process has contracted the currency so that banks are threatened and commercial centres menaced, there should be a hysterical cry for relief from the Secretary of the Treasury, and he should be compelled to hastily hunt for laws or the evasion of laws by which he can let the people have the use of their own. The dead hand of Alexander Hamilton keeps shut the doors of the Treasury upon the money which pours in from internal and external revenues. While revering the past and paying the highest tribute to the great genius who originated the sources of our wealth which successfully carried us so far, we must shake off the restraints which are no longer applicable to our conditions. We cannot remain cramped and confined in the swaddling clothes of our infancy which happily were expansive enough also for our boyhood and our youth. But we must devise and can easily find a system with so many examples in the great industrial nations, of elasticity for our currency and freedom in its circulation.

There is one subject of vital importance to us in our invasion of the markets of the world, and the sale of our surplus in competition with Great Britain and Germany especially, and France and Russia potentially. I will briefly mention without arguing the question. Trade follows the flag. But the American flag has disappeared with our merchant marine from the ports of all nations except Great Britain and from the seas of the world, except in numbers so small as to be scarcely found among the merchant vessels of the great powers. We have in our coast-wise trade, including our lakes and our rivers about 4,600,-

000 tons, while we have in deep sea traffic only 880,000 tons out of a total world tonnage of 11,000,000. Our coast-wise shipping is in the highest state of efficiency and excellence. Its tonnage has doubled within the last forty years. Our deep sea mercantile marine, on the other hand, has fallen off one-third in the last thirty years and is constantly diminishing. We are enlarging our navy and depleting our merchant ships. This process goes on in France, because France has little foreign commerce and that not increasing. Our foreign commerce, on the other hand, is increasing by leaps and bounds, but it is practically wholly in the hands and under the flag of our commercial rivals. We pay to them two hundred millions of dollars a year in freight. When the Isthmian Canal is opened, as it will be in less than ten years, New England will be deeply interested in the eastern trade across the Pacific. By some process the cost of construction and the operation of ships to Americans as against foreign owners and masters should be equalized, so that American goods will be carried in American bottoms and the Yankee skipper will be an advance agent of Yankee goods. If it can only be done by subsidies which at the maximum of nine or ten millions of dollars are a concrete bagatelle compared with our other expenses for the army and navy, rivers and harbors, pensions, etc., then I am in favor of subsidies. But I want the enemies of subsidies to propose some practical plan for the rehabilitation of the American mercantile marine. Abstract principles, as with the tariff and free trade, must not stand in the way or bar the progress of American development and of our legitimate position upon the high seas and in the ports of the world.

But, gentlemen, the theme is too large for an evening. Let us rejoice because there are so many reasons for optimism for an American. The pessimist and the calamity howler are out of place in our communities. The Cassandra cry falls upon deaf ears because the Greeks cannot enter our ports as enemies and our country is eminently our own. It is estimated that the American consumes seven times as much as the European and ten times as much as the Asiatic. This is because our internal com-

merce is vaster than that of all of the rest of the globe combined, because we are first in the production of all the necessities of life, because the profits of the farmer, the factory, the brain and the hand create both demands which are manifold and the means to supply them. It is because this great commercial and industrial people have reversed the famous line of Goldsmith, "Where wealth accumulates and men decay." The genius of our institutions and our liberty have created another and an American situation. The American people, with renewed intelligence, and expanding energies in each generation are enjoying, while they utilize, the wealth which they create.



Toast of Senator Depew to "The Ambassador  
of France," at the Banquet Given  
in His Honor, in New York,  
November 15, 1902.

MY FRIENDS: Mr. Hyde and myself are most happy to greet you here this evening. We are delighted that for a cordial good-bye and God-speed to the French Ambassador there should be present such a representative company of Americans.

The relations between France and the United States have been most picturesque for a hundred and fifty years. The romance chapters of the early settlement of our country are the voyages of Champlain, LaSalle, Marquette and other Frenchmen whose adventures, skill and genius discovered and mapped out lakes and rivers which have since developed into our magnificent system of water ways which has made possible the vast internal commerce of the country. In the battles for empire and territory in the seventeenth century, the English colonies stood loyally by the mother country and were her most efficient aid in wresting from France the domain of Canada. For this France bore no grudge against Washington and his compatriots; on the contrary, the French soldiers learned and respected the quality and character of the American troops. At the crisis of the Revolutionary War when prospects of success were darkest, France recognized the independence of our country and formed an alliance for its maintenance. Second in our affections, next to Washington, is the memory of that brilliant young Frenchman who cast his lot at the beginning and continued with us until the triumph—Lafayette. Next is that great soldier, Marshall de Rochambeau, whose splendid army and cordial co-operation with General Washington brought about the surrender at Yorktown and the independence of the United States. Since then the relations between the two countries have

been those of courtesy and friendship, rather than closeness and commerce. We are to celebrate next year the acquisition of the Louisiana territory from France, which has been of such incalculable benefit to our country. It gave us the mouth of the Mississippi and a vast domain out of which have been carved fifteen of our most prosperous and powerful commonwealths. The terms of the purchase made the conveyance practically a gift from France, and France has loyally supported our title ever since. This commemorative exposition is to be the most important and significant of the long line of industrial fairs which originated in the desire to celebrate the discovery and development of the nation. It is desirable that among the first in welcome as well as in display at this new exhibition at St. Louis shall be the generous nation from whose transfer has come to us so large a contribution to the power, wealth and happiness of our country.

The current of diplomacy flowed smoothly on with occasional commercial concessions until the breaking out of the Spanish War. It was a matter of vital moment to the cost and continuance of that struggle that Europe should remain neutral. Hundreds of years of neighborhood, of intimate and racial relations, of common interchanges and extended commerce, a long and extensive border and financial obligations had created the closest ties between Spain and France. It is well known that in the war the people of France, like the people of the continent generally, sympathized strongly with Spain. Happily France had at Washington a statesman and a diplomat whose intimate knowledge of our country and of our situation enabled him to keep his government so perfectly informed that official France remained absolutely neutral in the contest.

No task is more difficult than for a representative of a foreign power, whose people speak another language and whose traditions differ from the country to which he is accredited, to be other than simply the ambassador of his government to the capital where he goes. It is thus that the capable ministers of France, who have been sent to us for a hundred years, have had their relations mainly, if not solely, with the State Department and with the Presi-

dent. But the distinguished statesman and diplomat who is our guest to-night learned our language, absorbed the genius of our institutions and was touched by the spirit of our people. His activities were extended most acceptably in significant speeches at our great educational institutions, in the promotion of that study of languages which would bring the people of his country and ours closer together by each having a more familiar understanding of the other. He has appeared before our great commercial bodies and given the information for closer and more intimate commercial relations between our two countries to the great benefit of both. He has been a welcome contributor to our journals and always in a way most instructive and beneficial. If the task of learning our language was difficult, he has performed a much more difficult thing for a foreigner among our people—he has won our hearts. Gentlemen, I propose the health of the Ambassador of France.





**At the Dinner Given to Samuel L. Clemens  
(Mark Twain), November 28, 1902, in  
Celebration of His Birthday.**

COLONEL HARVEY AND FRIENDS: I would feel more comfortable if I knew how far the round-robin went in its individual suggestion to the gentlemen receiving it that he alone was to propose the health of the guest of the evening and there were to be no other remarks.

I received a letter from Colonel Harvey stating that this was to be a private dinner and no speeches were to be made, but that a very brief introduction of only a few sentences would be made by him, and then only to inform the gentlemen present that I was to propose the health of the guest of the evening, and then there was to be a very short response (I am quoting from Colonel Harvey) from Mark Twain. The Colonel added, emphasizing by underscoring, "I will say nothing." [Laughter.] Up to the present moment—save our friend and host—the Colonel has made seven speeches, and there have been four others to introduce the guest of the evening.

I was present at a dinner in London at which most of the guests were members of Parliament. When the dinner was over mine host arose and said, "We never have speeches at a private dinner in England, but it is quite common in the States, you know," and thereupon everyone present had to follow the American habit and address the chair. Our healthy, vigorous, and ever young distinguished guest is in such perfect health that we cannot add to his vigor, though we may to his color, by decorating him with the compliments and appreciations he so eminently deserves.

Brother Twain and I have been walking this world over together as friends for something more than a quarter of a century, and I owe him not only a debt due from the

pleasure of his companionship, but that larger obligation whose value can never be computed, because it is always increasing, of happiness which he has given in making me cheerful. It is an old adage, so very ancient that it cannot be classed among the venerable things which I am charged with repeating—the adage of the obligation the world is under to the man who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before. But this philanthropist is only a farmer, and his work is purely local. He is like Brother Belmont, who farms on Long Island, and probably makes many blades to grow where none ever grew before; but it is not as a farmer that we appreciate and honor him, but because he branches out from the farm on Long Island and, taking all the traction companies operating in this foremost city of the world, has us at his mercy for accommodations and fares. Brother Reed is a farmer down in Maine, and his pasture lands have been infinitely more productive since they have received the benefits of his practical skill. But we know him in a larger way as the Czar of Congress and by his witty contributions to the good-nature and harmony of the world. Now, however large may be the debt which we owe to the gentleman who doubled the production of timothy or clover, he cannot be compared with one who makes the world laugh. Laughter and longevity go together. Laughter makes for the peace, not only of families, but of nations. Beyond all writers Mark Twain has caused English-speaking people everywhere to enjoy this sensation. The mention of his name circles the world with a broad smile, a smile produced by his humor and broadened into laughter by his wit. Thus the world has a debt it can never pay to our guest.

Some years ago I was at Homburg, that famous watering place in Germany. I made a visit to Neuheim, which was near by, and there found my old and valued friends, Mark Twain and Joe Twitchell. I asked them to come over and spend a day with me at Homburg. At that time there was a quorum of both houses of Parliament there, and the Prince of Wales, now King of England, and other royalties. When it was discovered that Mark Twain was

in town and going to dine with me at the Kuersaal that evening, I received a written request from nearly every royalty, every member of the nobility, and every member of the houses of Lords and Commons, wanting to know if they could not come with their wives to enjoy the company of Twain. I stretched out my list as far as the table could be extended, and these royalties and members of the oldest aristocracies of the Continent and of Great Britain, and distinguished statesmen, all thought that that was one of the red-letter days of their lives.

The next morning Brother Twain and I were walking on the Concourse, where all Homburg meets to take the cure. He had the general appearance of a tramp. His trousers were too short, because they had been worn too long—[laughter]—and the sleeves of his coat had the same appearance; his linen was clean, but his hat was an old-timer. The Prince of Wales, the most companionable and tactful of all royalties, came along about that time and wanted to know who this apparition was. When informed that it was Mark Twain he expressed a wish for an introduction. I immediately lost Mark, because at that time royalty had for him a charm which an ordinary American citizen did not possess, and he stuck to the Prince much the same as a waiter once stuck to me, when I had given him a dollar and no one else had given him anything, and he said to me, "I will stick to you like a roast duck to a hot saucepan."

I was present at a dinner given by the Prince that evening, and his Royal Highness remarked, "I would have invited Mark Twain if I thought he had any clothes." I said Mark Twain had clothes, and he said, "Bring him down; I would be pleased to have him for dinner." Many of the notables and all the wits of the place were present the next evening. There was general expectation that Mark would give us original stories, which had not yet been published, and the raciest things in his repertoire. He, however, contributed nothing in the line which was expected until the end of the evening. Then he started out on a story which was a phenomenal success and received more laughter and applause than any he had ever told.

The reason was not so much the merit of the story or the skill of the raconteur, but because it was the same story which I had told the night before. [Laughter.] This incident has given me the reputation in England from which I have never been able to escape—that my talents consist of repeating Mark Twain's stories.

Now, some years ago I was in London, and there was a famous supper which ran long into daylight, and Mr. Clemens was present. It was at the tragic period of his career when he had encountered misfortunes for which he was in no way responsible and had assumed to pay debts for which he was in no way liable. He had declined all efforts of his friends to assist him, and was in gloom, as was everybody, which would be natural under such circumstances. The supper had a sort of mournful tone which no one could shake off. With the intense sympathy there was doubt as to his future, because it was feared that the blow would break him down. But we did not know the pluck, vitality and vigor of the man.

I lost sight of him for several years while he was on the other side of the globe in that triumphant procession of welcome and reception which has never before been equaled. It was on this lecture tour among the English of the antipodes that he discovered the truth of an answer made to a question which I put to all who had asked me to invite them to meet him at the Homburg dinner. "Why is it," I said, "that you are all so anxious to meet Mark Twain?" "Because Mark Twain has contributed more than any man, living or dead, to our individual pleasure, the happiness of our homes, and the joy of our lives." [Applause.] When Mark Twain went on that wonderful recuperating-of-his-fortune tour to Van Diemen's Land, to Victoria, to New Zealand, to South Africa, he found there those remarkable colonies of the vigorous youth of the British Empire and the younger sons of the nobility—those younger sons of the large families which Englishmen have, who have nothing but heredity, health, character and education, because the eldest one gets the property, and who must seek their fortunes in foreign lands. They live in the bush, they work in the mines, they build up ranches and

have lonely lives, or establish farms, but they make a country out of the wilderness for the mother-land. It was among this adventurous people that Mark Twain found his most appreciative audiences and loving friends. They had never met him personally, but if they had only one book in their libraries that book was written by Mark Twain. No matter how solitary the life on the ranch or the range or the miner's camp, they were in touch with civilization, with the best side of human nature, and with that humor which prevents man from lapsing into savagery and keeps him human. [Applause.]

When I saw Mark Twain next, he had returned to London; he had won back his fortunes, he had paid all those debts which, with his sensitive honor, he thought he owed, and he was himself again, freed from the chains of financial obligation and glorying in a prosperity marvellously earned. I could not keep from dwelling upon the wonderful parallel between him and Sir Walter Scott. For all of us, the enthusiasm of our youth went out to the great Scotch novelist and poet, when we remembered how he set for himself the task which gave to the world those incomparable romances and which cleared him from the mountain of debt under which he had been buried by the fault of others. The effort was too much for Sir Walter, and he died; but Mark Twain, under the same circumstances, meeting similar obligations and a larger loan, had thrown it off, and came out of the trial fresher and more vigorous than ever. Though sixty-seven years old, he is sixty-seven years younger by this experience of triumphal effort and by the knowledge that there is a place held by him alone, in the warmest part of the hearts of his countrymen and all English-speaking people everywhere.

The most delightful meetings I have had in my life have been with men who never get old, no matter how many years are charged to their account. The most glorious evening I ever spent on the other side was with Mr. Gladstone after he had passed eighty years of age. In suggestion, in apprehension, in freshness of feeling, in felicity of expression, and in earnestness of thought and expression, he was in his prime. The most delightful states-

man in Washington to-day, and one of the brightest, quickest, and most powerful members of the Senate, whether on the floor or in the committee room, is Senator Hoar at seventy-seven.

We have with us here to-night the most delightful man in English letters. One needs to travel much where he can meet English-speaking folk to appreciate the hold which our guest has upon them. We find him in every library, big and little, in all English-speaking countries, and in every accumulation of books in every home, however humble, wherever the English language is read. I am sure that as the news of this dinner goes out from this room there will be millions of men and women in every clime and under every sky who will rejoice with us that Mark Twain has reached his sixty-seventh year, and celebrates it in better mental and physical condition than at any other period of his life. [Applause.]

## At the Annual Dinner of the New England Society at New York, December 22, 1902.

SUBJECT: IF MILES STANDISH WERE HERE.

HOW A PILGRIM WHO LANDED ON PLYMOUTH ROCK IN 1620 VIEWS THE UNITED STATES AS IT IS TO-DAY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: The most striking figure in Macauley's writings is the New Zealander who, coming from that center of civilization ten thousand years hence, reflects upon the past while he stands upon a broken arch of London Bridge and views the ruins of St. Paul's.

You have assigned to me the reverse of that picture. It is that doughty old Puritan warrior, Captain Miles Standish, reincarnated and judging the America of to-day from the stand-point of the Pilgrim.

He finds that the one hundred and one people who landed on Plymouth Rock only two hundred and eighty-two years ago have become a nation of eighty millions of people, that their wealth has increased from the Mayflower's total of £2,400, or \$11,600, to a thousand billion of dollars, that the Plymouth boundaries, extending a few miles into the then unknown wilderness, now reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Circle, and that the whole of this vast domain is filled with great cities, thriving villages, prosperous farms, manufacturing centers and a self-governing people, the most intelligent, the most prosperous, happy and wealthy of any nation in the world. He finds that this Republic is recognized as one of the foremost of the great powers which decide the destinies of the inhabitants of the earth, that it is more respected and more feared than any other nation, that it has no king, no nobility, no classes, no privileges, but that all are equal before the law. He discovers that by the unanimous judgment of historians,

philosophers and statesmen this marvelous structure and these miraculous results have come from the open Bible of the Pilgrim and the compact entered into in the cabin of the Mayflower, by which the forty-one men of that little company decided to create a nation and found a government upon a principle never yet recognized in the affairs of the world—a government of just and equal laws. Constitutional liberty was born on that little ship on that epoch-making day. The United States is the example of its creative power. Not only American citizens are enjoying its blessings but they are extended to possessions in distant seas in many climes, wherever floats the flag of the Union. The spirit of constitutional liberty set free from the cabin of the Mayflower has penetrated the remotest parts of the earth. It has undermined thrones, tyrannies, superstitions and traditions. Under its influence humanity has been lifted and advanced in two hundred and eighty years more than in all the preceding ages of the story of man.

When Captain Miles Standish has grasped this situation, he will go into particulars, for he was a soldier and disciplinarian. His first inquiry is about the Indians. They were the ever present peril of the new settlement. Expansion and existence were equally dependent upon the solution of the Indian problem. Our answer would be that we have got rid of them by the process learned from him. "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian" was a motto ascribed to General Sherman after the wars on the plains, to General Jackson after the Seminole War, to General Harrison after the fight with Tecumseh and his tribesmen, and to Anthony Wayne after the battles with the Indians in the Ohio valley, but its real author was Miles Standish. He made friends with Chief Massasoit, through him discovered the plot to end the colony, enticed the two chiefs into a room and killed them and then attacked and destroyed their tribes. For that period the most humane of men was pious John Robinson, the pastor of the Puritans at Leyden, and when he heard of this exploit he wrote to the Governor of Plymouth "to consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper,"



and concluded his criticism and rebuke with this remark, "But how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you had killed any!" The justness of that mild rebuke has been appreciated by all the generations succeeding Standish who have dealt with the Indian problem. We have converted them first.

The excellent Captain, born and bred a soldier, would naturally look for the American Army. He enrolled sixteen of the forty-one able bodied men of the Mayflower, and that was the nucleus of the Army of the United States. Every man, with his musket, sword and corselet, had followed to successive victories in innumerable battles his gallant commander. It would astonish him to know that, while in his time every third man was a soldier, the United States has reached such a position of law and liberty within itself and of peace with the world, that a large proportion of the citizens of the United States have never seen a soldier of the regular army, and that the army, representing eighty million, consists of only seventy thousand men.

He would naturally stop over in Boston on his way to New York. The Pilgrims differed from the Puritans, who came afterwards. They were not learned men. Literature was not in their lives. They did not have behind them a long line of distinguished ancestors. Lineage was not their stronghold, and so I am afraid the Captain will find the atmosphere of Boston too rarefied for his rough ways and language. But while in Boston he would ask about the Puritan Church. The Captain was the most liberal minded of those early settlers. He had not only lived in Holland, but he had fought through many campaigns in the Netherlands. The Puritan brethren called him a dissenter, which meant that he had his own views, his own interpretation of sacred writ and had built up his own standard of a spiritual and material life. It would therefore rejoice him to find that Massachusetts had repudiated the narrow theocracy which governed her for fifty years; that Boston was the seat not only of liberal learning, but liberal thought; that the largest liberty of conscience resulting in many creeds, many sectarian divisions of the Christian body, had not weakened the power and member-

ship of the church; that on the contrary, in meeting the wants of all aspirants and all intelligences it had, to the uplifting and glory of our country, carried out the parting instructions of Pastor Robinson in his peerless sermon before they embarked at Leyden: "The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His Holy Word. None have yet penetrated into the whole counsel of God."

We would find him when he came to New York and after having been released as a harmless lunatic from the clutches of the "finest police in the world," contemplating the banking house at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets. There is a banker of Puritan descent, who values beyond all other distinctions the fact that he was once President of the New England Society, who is a representative banker of the United States and a financial power of the first class all over the world. The Captain would say, "I must meet him, for I was in my time something of a banker myself." He would then tell Mr. Morgan of that famous excursion of his into the realms of finance when he visited London to secure \$10,000 for the colony and finally succeeded in raising \$1,250 at fifty per cent. interest a year. And then the old warrior would say, "How does that compare with the financial transactions of to-day?" The railway mergers with ten thousand million dollars of capital, industrial combinations with a billion and a half dollars and earning over a hundred millions a year, ship combinations unifying and energizing the maritime transportation between the old country and the new, would flash before the bewildered eyes and startled brain of the Puritan Commander until he would exclaim, "I see a revelation as wonderful in its material aspects as the spiritual one which came to the Apostle St. John."

He had lived in Amsterdam, at The Hague and in London. He would want to know how this great city was governed. It would surprise him to learn that our rulers were selected occasionally by civic pride and civic intelligence, but generally by civic indifference and ignorance. It would be gratifying to know that when evils culminate in any of our cities the reform is usually originated and led by a descendant of the Puritans. Wherever they go

and settle, no matter how small their numbers compared with the rest of the population, they form that body so uncomfortable to the municipal authorities who are always in the interrogative and the objective. They want light, more light, and with light comes reform. But is reform a success? Taking all the difficulties it has to contend with, all the limitations that are placed by law upon its work, I say unhesitatingly. "Yes." A bad administration always leaves to a good one accumulated debts hidden in the mysteries of bookkeeping, public improvements, for which money has been appropriated and spent, uncompleted or so badly done that the work must be gone over, wasteful and extravagant contracts, difficult to break, given to party favorites and the whole employment, through whom alone the Mayor and his appointees can work, hostile to that discipline, that efficiency, that rigid accountability, that extirpation of favors, "grafts" and license which are the essence of reform. Whenever it has been tried, and I have seen it done several times in the last forty years, it has required two full years to clean house before the new occupant could show us how he could keep house, and because he does not keep house at once the impatient public usually fires him out.

Rocheboucauld once said—and because he is given as its author I suppose he was the discoverer—that there is a vast deal of human nature in the world. The United States Senator who wishes to please his constituents becomes impressed with this discovery. On moral and ethical questions he will find them unanimous, but when he comes to tariff and revenue reform, to currency, to public improvements, to the theories against paternal government and the practice of governmental assistance to education and to foreign policies, he finds himself hopelessly lost in the various degrees of commendation, none very vigorous, and of condemnation all very strong, whichever side he may take. When it comes to discussing the situation with an individual, the larger information of the Senator or Congressman upon the subject will usually convert the friend to whom he applies for assistance.

Judge Collamore, who for many years was a distinguished United States Senator from Vermont, was wont to illustrate his troubles by this story: He said that he was sitting on the porch of his law office during a recess of Congress when a farmer drove by and said: "Judge, my conscience troubles me so I cannot sleep about keeping four millions of fellow human beings, with the same souls and the same Creator as ourselves, in slavery. With all this wealth I am sure that we, as a nation and as a people individually, will be cursed unless slavery is abolished. Now, it is hardly fair to destroy the property of the Southerners, who are not directly responsible, and so I think we ought to all bear our share and buy them out." Senator Collamore replied: "Well, in part I think you are right. Now let's see practically how it works out. The estimated price is four thousand millions of dollars. It would have to be raised by a direct tax proportioned among the States. Vermont's share would be so many millions, this county so many hundreds of thousands, this town so many tens of thousands." Sitting in the same place the next afternoon and greeting friends as they passed to and from the market, the old Puritan farmer reappeared. Reining up his horses, he shouted: "Judge, I have been thinking over that question. Crops are poor, taxes are high. I do not think we need bother just at present about them infernal niggers."

The good Captain would be deeply interested in the character and quality of the immigration to our shores. In his time, though it started upon a high level, it was constantly improving during his life. The immigrants were men of substance, had independent means and self-supporting occupations and were led by learned men from universities. A visit to Ellis Island would shock and startle the gallant Captain beyond all his experience. Character and equipment, which would make the immigrant a beneficent contribution to the country, were the first requisites of his period. There must necessarily be also, if not culture, a certain measure of education, so that they could at least read the Bible in their own tongue. He would be told that it is only within a few years that our

immigration as a whole has deteriorated. The less we need of foreign importations for the development of our industries the poorer grows the quality. We are now eighty millions of people. There are those living who will see 200,000,000 within our boundaries by the natural growth of population. We should not put up any impassable barrier, but we should raise high the bars. European governments which are unloading upon us by assisted emigration their undesirable inhabitants should have their intellectual, moral and physical paupers returned to them. The enemies of government and society should be excluded. We do not want our labor demoralized and society endangered by such dense masses of ignorance that it is almost impossible to absorb them into and make them worthy citizens of our body politic. To be able to read our Constitution in their own tongue is not a hard requirement, and to be sure that those who come will make good citizens is essential to the welfare of the Republic.

This mighty progenitor of a virile race, having finished his tour of the United States, having crossed the continent and witnessed the wonderful settlement, development and progress of the country, left a parting message from which I make these extracts:

He said: "I have studied your great combinations of capital and of labor and have come to the conclusion that both organizations will continue to grow in strength and power. I have attended the meetings of the Civic Federation and listened to its various remedies for the difficulties between capital and labor. I have attended the convention of the Federation of Labor and heard their case as presented by their leaders. I have been to the Stock Exchange and in contact with the cynicism of Wall Street as to the future. I have heard the destructive threats of anarchists and the distributive theories of socialists. I was at a meeting of the Anti-Imperialistic Federation at Boston and heard the gloomy predictions of the destruction of the country from expansion beyond its continental limits, and then I was strengthened, refreshed and energized by an interview upon these same subjects and the future of the country with President Roosevelt. Every

age and country have their problems. Those people alone survive and prove their right to live who hopefully and courageously solve them according to their best lights. Yours seem insignificant before the difficulties we, your ancestors, faced. Savage nature and savage men had both to be overcome before we could have safety in our settlements or opportunity for family, public and religious life. The musket, with the plow, was the necessity of our existence. We suffered the greatest hardships and privations and lived in perpetual peril of our lives while we were laying the foundations and building the institutions and liberties you enjoy. The humblest of your generation have comforts we never knew and luxuries of which we never dreamed. You can only doubt or despair when pampered effeminacy is the degenerate successor of the manhood which reverently recognizes and courageously utilizes and defends the manifold blessings which God has showered upon you. We cultivated in the individual faith in the living God and confidence in himself. The foundations of our family, of our State, of our church, were imbedded in civil and religious liberty and political equality for the individual. You have dispersed the Indians and occupied their lands. You are so isolated and powerful that you are placed beyond the possibility of assault from any foreign nation. You have made nature your slave; you have subdued the forces of the air, the water and the earth to your will and made them the ministers of your progress; your problems are all within yourselves and in your own household. The charter framed in the cabin of the Mayflower for just and equal laws is as competent to solve the difficulties of the United States of America as it was to form into a political community the little company which landed upon Plymouth Rock. Enlarge the curriculum of popular education according to the requirements of the age. The State House and the Court House are safe only in proportion as they are inspired by the church and the school house. Character in citizenship builded upon the precepts of the New Testament or the Old, or both, and upon the inviolability of individual liberty and equality before the law is the hope of your present and future."

## At the Annual Banquet of the Ohio Society in New York City, January 17, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE OHIO SOCIETY: Many years ago I was put out of touch with the favor of Ohio by a statement made at a rash moment that "some men are born great and some in Ohio." Yet the qualities of the Buckeye citizen continue to be the wonder and the admiration of their countrymen. This evening will be memorable because it is the first time that the Ambassadors of all the great powers of Europe and the Ambassador of Mexico have left the Capital in a body to go anywhere to celebrate anything. They are here, of course, in compliment to Secretary of State John Hay, the guest of the Ohio Society for the evening. They could not have come unless they had informed their several governments of this event and received permission from their sovereigns and chiefs of State. They have informed their governments of Great Britain, of Germany, of Russia, of Italy, of France, of Austria and of Mexico, that, while their credentials accredit them to Washington, the real seat of power in the United States is Ohio. It is hard enough for a New Yorker or the citizen of any other of our commonwealths to have this supreme position of the Buckeye State recognized in the family of nations, but it becomes an additional burden when the Ohio Society selects New York to hold its celebration and to emphasize this fact. The duties as a guest imposed upon me by the requirements of hospitality prevent my expressing the sentiments which the occasion seems to require.

If we were not so busy with general prosperity, there would be some philosophers with leisure who could discover the microbe of the political ascendancy of Ohio. Education and environment fix thoughts, tendencies and careers. The school of the great mass of the people is not the school-

house or the academy, but the country store, or, upon a higher or more favorable plane, the noon-day gathering between morning and evening service of the members of the country church. To these can be added places of all sorts in villages and smaller cities where people congregate and discuss matters. If one will travel over the country, he will discover that the subjects which interest people in these casual debating clubs are different in every State. In New York the subject almost invariably would be stocks. It would be how securities are to be affected and the markets are to rise or fall by reason of events or legislation. In the mountain States west of Chicago mining and mines, actual and prospective, would command attention. What they are discussing are the mines which have proved good and which are promising, and which therefore they intend to keep, and those which are bad, which they hope to sell in New York before they are discovered. As we descend the Sierras to the Pacific Coast it would be the development of the country and what might happen if coal and oil and water were plentiful. In New Jersey they talk of the State and localities relieved of taxation by the commonwealth having become the hospitable home of corporations and of trusts. But in Ohio, whether in the city or the country, whether at the school recess or the interval between morning and evening service on Sunday, whether on the highway, in the tavern or the store, the first and the foremost subject is always politics. Thus Ohio trains and breeds men for public life. They begin their success by having superior culture and then greater experience, and now they have added heredity. Darwin's theory that you could mate fantail pigeons with fantail pigeons until the pigeons would be nothing but fantails, applies equally well to the discussion and pursuit through several generations of theoretical and especially of practical politics. Soon after the campaign in the State of New York, when the city surprised us by such a tremendous Democratic vote and the country responded with equal emphasis for the Republican side and saved the Republican ticket, I was stopped on Broadway by a gentleman, who said, "Excuse me, Senator, but I



feared, notwithstanding your success, you would feel greatly disappointed at the phenomenal majorities against your party in New York City." I said: "No. As long as we carried the State I am very happy." Then he said, "You are really not suffering because of the unexpected result at this end of the State?" I said, "Assuredly not." Then he said, "Would you mind loaning me half a dollar?" That man was a New Yorker. His discussion of great principles ended in a financial transaction.

After a quarter of a century of business one of the foremost men in the West came back to his old home in Maine. He wandered in the evening, as he was wont to do as a boy, to the village store. There, gathered around the stove, were apparently the same people whom he recollected as constituting this congress in his youth. When he had made himself known, one of them said, "Is it true what has been reported in this neighborhood that you are getting as much as \$10,000 a year salary?" My friend, who was getting much more, said, "Yes." "Well," said the spokesman, "that only shows what cheek and circumstances will do for a man." Here was your Yankee audience, whose subject is always the one who has made up his mind that New England was a good place to be born in, but out West was the better place to get a fortune.

When we consider that all other countries have schools preparing certain classes of citizens for public life and that in America our public men are all drawn from private occupations, we are impressed with the effect of our institutions upon our people. In Great Britain, for instance, from which country we have inherited most of our laws and customs, there is a hereditary branch of the national legislature. A class is set apart who are educated generation after generation for government. The younger sons upon the principle of heredity and by choice, unless compelled to migrate to earn a living, also enter politics, making it a profession, and are found in the House of Commons and in all the departments. But here we see citizens go from the farm or factory, the workshop or the professions, to the Legislature or the national Congress. With-

out previous training they accept diplomatic appointments and come in contact with the ablest and most experienced cabinets of the world. Now, compare the statesmen of other countries, who are the products of heredity, experience, preparation and special assignment for public life during the first hundred years of our Republic with our own statesmen for the same period, and the contrast is one to make an American proud of institutions and opportunities which have brought to that high office the twenty-three Presidents of the United States, which have given to us Webster and Clay and Calhoun and Seward and Lincoln and Garfield and McKinley. It is no undue flattery, it is no exaggerated statement to place in this list of eminent statesman John Hay, editor, author and traveler. From journalism to literature, from literature to the State Department, from the State Department to foreign chancelleries and from foreign chancelleries to the Ambassadorship of Great Britain, he finds at last his proper place and appropriate sphere as Secretary of State of the United States. In all the history of our ministers in charge of our foreign affairs none has achieved more conspicuous triumphs for our country and shed greater lustre on its diplomacy than Secretary Hay. Among those eminent men who have been his predecessors he will take high rank in history for what he has done for arbitration.

The most hopeful moral force in the world to-day is arbitration. With nations the alternatives are diplomatic agreements, war or arbitration. The failure of the first has heretofore led to the second with all those horrors which forced from Sherman the epigrammatic characterization, "War is hell."

The barbaric test of physical combat between individuals was based on the belief that God would make the right win, but He evidenced His disapproval of this un-Christian conduct by holding aloof. The fact that the strong and the skilled always defeated the weak led by slow and painful evolution to law and justice. As law is respected force disappears in the righting of wrongs and adjustment of disputes.

Organized capital and organized labor are the present

factors of development and civilization. When they are in harmony, peace and prosperity prevail. When they fall out, the social fabric is in danger of disintegrating, and if the dispute was sufficiently widespread and obstinate industrial operations would be suspended and society reduced to anarchy. They fight out their differences by strikes and lockouts, which is a return by these comparatively new and powerful forces to the mediæval method of combat. The process of a trial of endurance, with the outbreaks of violence which necessarily are incident to situations where fierce passions and great distress go together, is barbaric and fraught with danger to the State, the Church and the family.

The lesson of all past experience and the progress of civilization from its lowest to its present splendid development favors the substitution of arbitration for that crude and unscientific method. The Civic Federation is a movement in the right direction. But every moral and educational force in the country should be directed to a universal acceptance of arbitration. When that humane and enlightened principle is generally adopted, the genius of the American people for solving problems affecting the public welfare will speedily perfect a scheme which will permanently establish that harmony between labor and capital without which no community can thrive or peacefully exist.

I must make a claim for New York on behalf of the origination of an international court to which all disputes between nations should be submitted and war avoided. At the time when the Venezuela question brought prominently to the front the Monroe Doctrine, during President Cleveland's administration, I had the honor to be the orator before the New York State Bar Association and to advocate arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. Our State Bar Association adopted a memorial to Congress urging the United States to take the initiative of establishing an international court of arbitration. The proposition started the discussion which resulted in the Hague Tribunal. When it seemed to have lost its authority, when this most beneficent promise of the twentieth

century for the peace of the world was apparently passing into oblivion and "innocuous desuetude," the diplomacy of the United States induced the two greatest powers of the world, in their dispute with Venezuela, to agree to submit their differences to this court. Almost in an hour, certainly in a day, The Hague Tribunal was placed upon its feet. It assumed dignity, majesty and power. It took its place among those great courts whose mission, once begun, never ends. Public opinion of the world, mightier than the verdicts of kings and princes and cabinets, will hereafter keep open the highway for all litigants, not to the field of battle, but to the Hague Tribunal. No diplomatic work was ever more skillfully, more happily or more successfully suggested or carried to completion than this by Secretary Hay. The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the removal of the obstacles which caused antagonism between Great Britain and the United States, the disappearance of friction in the Western Hemisphere and treaties which make possible the building of the inter-oceanic canal will be among the legends which will be inscribed upon his shield.

Ohio and New York! The latest contribution of Ohio to the Republic was President William McKinley. The marvellous prosperity during his administration, the placing of the currency and credit of the country upon a sound and impregnable basis, the prosecution of war with a vigor and humanity unequalled in history, the formulating of policies and principles to meet new conditions in colonial possessions and the Republic of Cuba will remain its monuments. The President of the United States is a New Yorker of New Yorkers. He has quickly won the confidence and affection of his countrymen. To the great powers of Europe encircling little Venezuela he has indicated the boundaries beyond which they may not go and in this assertion has given new vitality to the Monroe Doctrine. In refusing the complimentary and tempting offer made by Great Britain and Germany to be sole arbitrator and pointing the way to the Hague Tribunal he has done a great service for the peace of the world. In a domestic

crisis of unprecedented acuteness and peril his quick apprehension of the situation and wise and tactful suggestions to the contending parties averted conditions, made most manifest by the situation to-day all over our country, which might have caused disturbances in our great centers of population little short of revolution. New York is proud of her President, Theodore Roosevelt!



## On the Occasion of the Review of the Seventh Regiment, N. G. N. Y., by Senator Depew at its Armory, April 15, 1903.

COLONEL APPLETON—Gentlemen: I heartily welcome you to our Seventh Regiment Armory. I ask you all to join me in the toast of the evening, "The Hon. Chauncey M. Depew."

SENATOR DEPEW:—Colonel Appleton, and gentlemen of the Seventh: It gives me great pleasure to be here to-night. It is an honor to have the opportunity of reviewing the regiment under circumstances which give me the privilege of seeing you in your own armory.

We lead a strenuous life when we become veterans like me. I delivered a speech yesterday at a wedding breakfast at Newport, a speech to-day in the Assembly at Albany and here I am.

I love old associations and I especially admire organizations which have heredity. I believe in old colléges, old churches and in all those things which have behind them years of good service for humanity or the country. Their history and presence are a liberal education for those who come after. No new organization can have the spirit of or be as useful as one which has traditions and heredity, and in which son has succeeded father for successive generations, as is the case in the Seventh Regiment of the State of New York.

The incident which Colonel Appleton has related has been on my conscience to tell ever since it occurred. I do not know of an instance of greater bravery under injustice than the silence of the Seventh Regiment in the position in which it was placed by public sentiment because of an alleged refusal to enlist during the Spanish-American War. It declined, of course, to break up its organization and go as individuals, which was its only

alternative. When the storm of indignation arose Colonel Appleton came to me and asked me to present the case to the President of the United States. I went to Washington with General Fitzgerald and we spent the evening with the President, the Secretary of War and the General of the Army. We simply presented the Seventh Regiment as an organization to go anywhere and at a moment's notice if the President asked it. [Applause.] President McKinley stated the difficulties of the situation, which were that under his call he could not accept the regiment as a whole. The story could not be told at the time because the exigencies of war did not permit its secrets to be revealed.

I went over the next day and had a conversation with my old friend, General Alger, Secretary of War, another misunderstood and misrepresented but faithful official. He grasped the situation at once. He said to me: "Some time before this war closes there will be an opportunity for the Seventh Regiment to be vindicated in a way which will redound to its honor." Shortly afterwards he telegraphed me to come to Washington, and he said: "The War Board is contemplating a rush upon Havana. We wish to close this war up suddenly. There are a hundred and twenty thousand Spanish troops behind the fortifications of Havana, the flower of the Spanish army. We believe the city can be taken and the war ended if we can get fifty thousand of the right kind of trained American soldiers for the purpose of making that assault. Of course it must be understood that the assault is desperate, the casualties will be many; the peril must not be minimized. The opportunity has now come for the Seventh Regiment; the service will not be long, but it will be the most dangerous and glorious for which soldiers can volunteer."

I came back to New York and sent for Colonel Appleton. He called upon me with some members of his staff, and I told him what the purpose of the Government was and the message of General Alger. The next day Colonel Appleton gave me to be sent to the President the message which he has read to you, which was that the Seventh would on one day's notice join the army for an assault upon



Havana, and would march to the front with one thousand and fifty men. [Applause.]

Victories which came so rapidly at Santiago and Manila, both on sea and land, prevented the carrying out of this scheme of the Government. But the situation was such that our mouths were closed and nothing could be said while this flood of denunciation, abuse and ridicule was being poured upon the Seventh Regiment. I venture to say that there never has been in the history of this country at any time a call made upon a regiment of the National Guard, which could, if it pleased, decline or accept the peril, where that was so immediate and so great and the response so sudden and enthusiastic as the answer of this regiment that they would drop everything and march upon Havana.

Most of the gentlemen here remember little of the Civil War. Many of them were not then born. Happily it is forgotten. It was a fraternal strife. The Republic is again united. Brotherhood prevails everywhere. We bury rapidly, day by day, all memory, all recollection of the struggle so far as it may be considered a war of enemies; but we can never forget the men who responded to the call to defend the flag, to sustain the Union and protect the capital and who saved the Government.

The conditions which existed in 1861 no one can now grasp. We had been at peace for so many years that our people did not know what war was. There had been no war since 1812, except the one with Mexico, and that was a mere incident in which scarcely enough of our citizens were engaged to have it felt anywhere. Here, however, suddenly in every hamlet in the country on each side of the Mason and Dixon line they awoke to the fact that a desperate struggle was to be had among Americans for the maintenance of the Union on the one side and for its destruction on the other side, and that the debate of a hundred years between centralization and state rights, freedom and slavery, was to be fought out on the battlefield. The nation woke up to the fact that this was to be the bloodiest war of modern times, and that enlistment

in it meant the improbability of the soldier ever returning to his home. It was under that feeling that a call was made by the President of the United States upon the Seventh Regiment to go to Washington to defend the capital, which at that time was threatened, because the Confederacy had its soldiers in the field sooner than the Union.

When it was announced that the Seventh Regiment had accepted the call and was to march with full ranks, people hurried here from all over the North to see and cheer the departure of that regiment. I have been through a great many exciting scenes in my life. I have been in contact several times with those intense, overwhelming, uncontrollable emotions when it seems almost impossible for any one to survive the excitement of the occasion, but I have never before or since seen, or felt what occurred when the Seventh Regiment marched that day down Broadway. Every place of vantage was filled with men and women as the regiment came along. In the side streets were carriages in which were the wives, sisters and sweethearts of the officers and the soldiers of the Seventh. One would see a handkerchief in the air, then it would disappear, then there would be a woman lying at the bottom of the carriage or on the sidewalk or on the roadway. There were cheers at first; then there was silence. Feeling was too intense for noise. All around me I saw men weeping as only men can weep under great agitation. I saw men faint on the sidewalk and in the rooms. Every one felt that was war and knew just what it meant. But while there was this emotion everywhere, in the crowds from the roofs down to the street, and in the masses ranged along the roadway, there was not a quiver in the ranks of the marching men. All were friends or relatives who were going to the defence of the capital of the nation and to the salvation of the union of these states. [Applause.]

Colonel Appleton and Gentlemen, it is a proud thing for the State of New York to have a regiment whose fame for its efficiency in drill, for its conduct everywhere, at home and abroad, for its action on all occasions when soldierly conduct was required, has placed it in the front rank of voluntary military organizations. All over Europe

when I travel and meet military men, the first question is not in regard to our regular army, which they know is so small, though they know it is efficient. Their inquiry is: "What would happen in time of a great war when your regular Army is so small as it has been up to a recent period?" I have said: "But we have the national guard, and behind that national guard there are millions who would volunteer as they did in 1861 at the call of the country." Then the question always has been, "But have you any duplicate of the Seventh Regiment? If your other regiments and your millions of volunteers are equal to your Seventh then we haven't any other question to ask. We have been in its armory, we have seen it under conditions where a soldier knows what a soldier is and if your people are up to the standard of the Seventh you can conquer the world." [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, I trust that the facts which have been narrated here to-night for the first time may become the common property of the country and go into the history of the Spanish-American War.

I have been delighted to see here, as marking the spirit of this regiment, still in the ranks, still as enthusiastic as boys, privates who have been satisfied to remain in the ranks and who received medals this evening for a service of twenty-five years and ten years. And here are twenty-five-year veterans, and General Fitzgerald has been in the service of this regiment over sixty years. [Applause and laughter.] To look at him you wouldn't believe it, but I have received the record from your Colonel and the confession from himself. [Laughter.] He was four years in the army during the Civil War and each year of such service counts for five. Add that to the forty years since he enlisted in the Seventh and here is a man who has been sixty years in the regiment and still goes fishing. [Laughter.]

Coming over from Washington after the sudden defeat and sinking of the powerful fleet of Cervera, Joe Jefferson, the most genial, witty and charming of men, who was coming over from a professional engagement at the capital, said to me, "Do you know how it happened that the

Spanish fleet, being a strong one, should have been sunk in such a short time while our ships were not injured? Do you know how it happened?" I said, "No." He said, "Well, an actor can tell you. They had not rehearsed." [Laughter.]

That charge cannot be brought against the Seventh. It has been rehearsing for nearly one hundred years. The veteran father retires, and his son takes his place, but he gets the spirit at home and had it long before he enlisted. He has been brought up to a strenuous life. The two hundred men of the Seventh who became officers in the Spanish-American War proved that the Seventh had rehearsed. The six hundred men of the Seventh who became officers in the Civil War showed that the Seventh had rehearsed. It is because the Seventh has been rehearsing for a century that we, the guests, had the opportunity of seeing a drill here to-night, which I believe could not be duplicated anywhere. It is because the Seventh Regiment rehearses that its members are models of the citizen-soldier supporting himself by his vocation, asking no help from the country, the State or the city, giving his days and evenings as he can to his training as a soldier, and when the country, or the city, or public order is in danger, dropping his business and responding to the order to march. [Applause.]

**At the Dinner Given to the German Ambassador,  
Speck von Sternberg, by Mr. Edward  
Uhl and Mr. Herman Ridder, at  
New York, April 22, 1903.**

MR. UHL AND MR. RIDDER: That great organ of German-American opinion—the Staatz Zeitung—through Mr. Uhl and Mr. Ridder has done more than any other influence to promote amicable relations and a good understanding between the people of Germany and of the United States. It was the famous dinner given to Prince Henry which brought together, as could have been done in no other way, the representatives of every department of American life to meet the brother of the Emperor, and to-night another step is taken in the same direction. These events emphasize the power of the press in our internal and international affairs.

George Washington was the father of his country and Frederick the Great the founder of the German Empire. As history goes, it was but yesterday they lived their great lives and performed their wonderful work. The press had little or no influence in this country during Washington's time, and none whatever in Germany. Popular opinion, which to-day is educated, aroused and moved by the newspapers, found little expression either in its initiative or in its activities in the United States a hundred years ago, and there was practically no such thing as public opinion in what is now the German Empire. Fifty years afterward, matters had not changed much on the continent, and John Randolph, a very eccentric man from Virginia, in a speech in the House of Representatives, thanked God that there was not a newspaper published in his district. To-day, however, the situation is reversed. Presidents and congresses, emperors and cabinets and parliaments are

swayed by the press. International relations are harmonized or antagonized by this change. The editorials of the leading journals of any of the great powers which animadvert upon one of the family are reproduced the next morning in the foreign countries and the effects are felt in all governing circles. The ruler of a mighty country took me to task once very seriously and indignantly because of remarks on his life and conduct which had appeared in some American newspaper. That demonstrated to me that quite as important an adjunct as the dispatches to the Foreign Minister, in every ruler's household in the world, is the national and international newspaper clipping bureau. One can find in this morning's journals, in the extracts from the German newspapers of yesterday, how from a misunderstanding of one of those international courtesies, which mean so little to us and so much abroad, a fierce flame of antagonism against the United States is spreading among the German people. At the same time the utterances of our own press, during the recent Venezuelan difficulties, charging Germany with an aggressive attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine, stirred our people to a fierce demand for a more powerful navy. It is well known that these irritations do not exist in the official intercourse or understanding between the two countries. The German and American people can only be brought into harmonious relations, which should exist between them, by the press of the two countries. Sentiment counts for as much in the feelings toward each other of the peoples of different nationalities as in love. It is more important than facts. Lafayette's joining General Washington was so picturesque and romantic that it captured our imagination. A youth of twenty, his military knowledge could not have contributed much to the cause. His presence, however, on account of his position at home and close relation with the French king and court was immensely helpful.

Baron Steuben was the disciplinarian of our army. In the long and dreadful winter at Valley Forge he taught tactics to the ragged Continentals. The result of his

teachings to both officers and men were seen upon every battlefield of the Revolution. Lafayette stands next to Washington in the esteem of this, as he will of all succeeding generations, while Steuben is only known to the student of our history.

It is supposed that the Russian fleet which appeared in New York harbor during the Civil War, was sent by the Czar to furnish practical assistance in case Great Britain or France should intervene in behalf of the Confederacy. That belief finds practical expression in the most cordial and friendly feelings of the American people toward Russia, notwithstanding there is so little in common between the two countries. There is every reason for close and amicable relations between the Americans and Germans and none for antagonism. There are 4,000,000 Germans born in the Fatherland in our country. They are everywhere among our best citizens, contributing by their intelligence, industry and good citizenship to the wealth and power of the United States. With the exception possibly of the Irish, there is no such representation of other countries within our border. Their loyalty to the Fatherland never interferes with their devotion to the American flag. Germans who come among us are adopted into our citizenship with the same rights as the native-born. They accumulate wealth and hold public office. There is no place under the Constitution eligible to one foreign born which they do not fill. On the other hand the German universities and professional schools make out of American students thousands of college professors, men of letters, artists, musicians and diplomats.

The interchanges of commerce are mutually beneficial. There is no border line across which there may be conflicts. Then where are we likely to fight or disagree? There is a German sphere of influence in Africa, but we are not interested in that continent. In Asia we are rivals for markets, but friends in insistence upon the open door. The rapid increase of the German navy means no menace to us, because we are not interested in what it is destined to protect, and Germany has no fear of our navy that it

may be aggressive in any sphere of German power. We ought not to fear nor to dislike but rather to welcome German immigration into South American countries. The chronic unrest and revolution, with their perils to life and property, prevent the fairest continent of the world from being so peopled and developed that it would be of infinitely more value to us than under present conditions. If there were a sufficient leaven of Germans in those countries, carrying with them German thrift, industry, respect for law and order and culture, to dominate the situation, there would be an agricultural and mineral development of immense value in commercial interchanges to the United States. Such settlements would promote civilization and peace. If we had upon our northern border a turbulent mixed race, we would be in constant hot water, because we could never keep the peace nor would we want to absorb the population. A virile, thrifty, vigorous representation of our own stock in Canada is of infinite value to peace, to civilization and to trade on the long border line between our two countries.

Germany and the United States have become world powers almost at once—the United States as the result of the War with Spain and the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, and Germany by its recent rapid and marvelous command of the seas. There is a striking similarity between our President and the German Emperor. Both have youth, ambition and genius. Both are devoted to the best interests of their respective countries. If they have eccentricities and activities outside of the routine of government, it is because they make more steam than can be worked off except by excursions into many fields. That the Emperor can find time to write plays, criticise music and settle theological controversies, is a good thing for Germany on the theory, in which I believe, that variety rests and invigorates. Mr. Roosevelt, while one of the most active, energetic and industrious of Presidents, is a better President because he recuperates as a mighty hunter and as a teacher upon the commencement platform and to employers and to employees and to mothers on the vital



question of race suicide. President Roosevelt is the successor of three remarkable chief magistrates who made a lasting impression upon their country—Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley. It is the best evidence of his genius and wisdom that he keeps up the high standard established by these most able predecessors. Prince Bismarck said to a friend of mine that the German cradle was so prolific industrial difficulties could only be prevented by colonization. The present Emperor has provided for the German cradle in a higher and more beneficent way. He found Germany with but few ports and outlets, with a weak navy and with an insignificant merchant marine. The German people have responded to his initiative. They have given him a navy worthy of a maritime power, and the ships of commerce carrying the German flag are on every sea and in every port and present the highest evidence of ship-building skill. He induced his people to do this upon the principle, which has been demonstrated successfully in the experience of Germany, that commerce and markets stimulate the productive energies and bring out the resources of a country, so that increasing populations may be cared for comfortably at home, where they add to the strength and power of the land of their birth.

When I was passing through the South the other day, I saw in a local newspaper this statement: "The Rev. Mr. Fairweather, the great evangelist, having produced a religious revival in this town, whose spiritual uplifting will be long felt among us, left here yesterday in his famous gospel wagon. On the canvas covering its sides was painted in large letters the motto 'God is love.' Tied on behind was a first-class bull dog, who showed all his natural teeth, in excellent fighting condition." So while all the rulers of the world are preaching peace and goodwill among nations, and praising the Hague Tribunal, they are feverishly pushing to perfection and greater power their naval and military armaments. Let us hope that as a better understanding between peoples progresses, and with more intimate knowledge of each other come more cordial and friendly feelings, the international

wagon of the Gospel of peace will neither need nor carry a bull dog.

Let us hope that the German and American press will more and more labor to promote peace between our countries and peoples, and let us hope that the pin-pricks alluded to by the German Ambassador, and which keep up the irritation, may be relegated to the chamber of antiquities with the other instruments of mediæval torture. Let us hope that the gospel of international peace may so perfect the world that the bull dog will not be necessary to prove that love is peace.

At the Twelfth Annual Banquet Given to  
Senator Depew by the Montauk Club of  
Brooklyn, in Celebration of His  
Birthday, April 25, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

A friend in the eighties said in reply to my congratulations, "Please do not again remember my birthday; it is a painful reminder of how few remain." That is not our philosophy. We celebrate the years we have, thank God there were so many and trust Providence for the future. When past sixty do not make life miserable, as is the habit of many, by treasuring the number of acquaintances who were co-temporaries who have departed during the year. Cut out and put in your pocket-book the accounts, which appear so frequently, of the nurses and coachmen still living who once served George Washington. Remember that citizen who, notwithstanding he has been fifty years in the poor house in New Jersey, celebrated in March his 134th anniversary. A gentleman who has just returned from Cuba, met there an old resident with a proved record of 128 years, who was friskily contemplating another matrimonial adventure. Admiral Keppel, of the British Navy, at ninety-four has just completed a tour of his country's colonies and is said to be engaged to a young lady. These are the lights which illumine the pathway of life.

We are the youngest of the great powers, we have a youthful and strenuous President and yet it is the mature wisdom of age which governs us. The House of Representatives, since the adoption of the rules of Speaker Reed, is under the absolute sway of its Speaker, and by universal choice as well as pre-eminent merit, Col. Cannon, of Illinois, will be elected to that position when he is sixty-eight. Those mature statesmen, Payne

and Grosvenor, are the leaders upon the floor. The Senate of the United States is the real power in our system. About four Senators on each side, all past sixty and the majority over seventy, when in agreement, have shaped the laws and settled the policy of the nation. The activity and longevity of these statesmen, and others whom we know, who are eminent in literature, in the pulpit, on the bench at the bar, in the management of great corporations and as successful men of business, are examples of the cultivation of cheerfulness and of hope, and of confidence and abiding faith in the continued progress, development, growth and expansion of our country. Those who laugh live long, those who growl die young. It is not the length of days which counts, but the harvest which they yield. We speak of poverty only as the deprivation of the comforts of life which comes from lack of money. But there is a far more serious poverty—of the spirit, of the heart and of the mind. There is success without pleasure or happiness. The grad-grind is a human machine for making money, who does not know its uses beyond its capacity for making more money, and who has never had the exquisite enjoyment which comes from true friends and a variety of pursuits, where play and fun, church and charity, the political party and the club, society and travel, books and an enjoyable fad or hobby are also part of his rest and his work. With my associations, personal and professional, for forty years, few have had such a wide and varied acquaintance.

I once received a sudden call to the bedside of a man with whom, in many ways, I had been long associated. His judgment was so unerring and he was so keen in the solution of difficult business problems and in forecasting the future from the present conditions that he was an invaluable member of several directorates in great corporations. I asked him at the zenith of his vigor and success what he got out of life, because, from my standpoint, it seemed so little and that little so valueless. His answer was, "The power which wealth gives and the pleasure of seeing the snowball grow." As answering his last summons I hurriedly entered the house, a weeping family told me the

end was near, but the sick man would not be denied in his peremptory demand for me. He said, "The doctor tells me, and I feel that he is correct, that I have but a few hours to live. I sent for you for two reasons. You remember the bitter quarrel which I had with my partner which caused our separation. I never have mentioned the matter either before or since his death. I wanted you to know, however, in all the emphasis of this hour, that I was right, and that if I meet him in the next world I intend to tell him so, although I did not speak to him for many years before his death. One of your clients is equally interested with me in the securities of a certain corporation which is about to be absorbed by another. The proposition of the absorbing company which, by its strength, has the power to do as it pleases, is unfair and unjust. I want you to promise to fight it by every means in your power and to join with my executors whom I have instructed in securing or compelling better terms. Thanks for coming, good-bye"—and his soul went out with the setting sun. A factor in financial affairs disappeared. The corporations with which he was connected, passed deservedly glowing tributes to him as a director and manager, but the pauperism of life, here and hereafter, never seemed to me to be so emphasized and its poverty displayed in such ghastly colors as this crowning of a successful life here with the infinite questions it suggested of the future. That man would have thought the time wasted with us here to-night. He could not have taken in foreign lands as a joyous member of a Cook party, or in his own yacht. School celebrations and college commencements would have bored him to death. Participation in the strenuous efforts, the pride of victory or the companionship of defeat in political contests, would have been for him neglect of business, and that a crime. Periodical literature meant for him the page on the markets and the financial column, and his library, instead of being filled with friends and intimates on every shelf, was as much the product of his upholsterer and decorator as of his bookseller. Happily there are many wiser, happier and more useful men.

I was talking with a brilliant woman, the wife of an

exceedingly able, accomplished and cultured man. He has made his impress deep and lasting upon his generation in many ways. He has won enviable distinction and attached to himself hosts of devoted friends, and extracted from many places and an infinite variety of labors fame and pleasure. He has thrown away opportunities to become immensely rich, because it would have deprived him of the path where duty led in the public service, and where ambition might be gratified if successful. Discussing the old Athenian question which engaged Socrates and Plato night after night "Is life worth the living," she said, "My husband and I started with nothing except our hopes and his intellectual equipment. I said to him, we want only two things to make our happiness secure for the whole future, a baby and a piazza. We had the babies. They have grown up and are all doing well, and they are giving infinite happiness to us, but somehow we have not the piazza yet." No birthday speech, no library or sermons, no volumes of reminiscence, of biography or autobiography, no accountant or mathematician could express the sum of enjoyment, of healthy and happy work and pleasure which have filled the advancing years of those wise optimists.

This anniversary, the twelfth, in which, under this hospitable roof, several hundred gentlemen have met every year to make my birthday a happy one, and the future full of brightness and hope, would be incomplete without an expression in regard to events in which all, no matter what their party or other affiliations may be, have common interest. It will be remembered that the revelations made in this room at one of our first meetings exploded the bomb under municipal corruption and misrule, which, taken up by the pulpit and the press, not only led to the successful reform movement here, but started a wave of non-partisan interest in the government of cities which went all over the country. Except that the time was ripe when that speech was made, the story and its illustrations would have gone out with the lights. As we glance at the then and now, we will

all admit that municipal government is infinitely purer, more public spirited, closer to the people, freer from cliques and gangs and more non-partisan than ever before.

I have learned by long experience in conflicts in the law, in political possibilities and in business antagonisms to fear little things. A single unfortunate remark defeated a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and ended disastrously two other presidential campaigns. Waterloo was lost to the Emperor, because he had a fit of indigestion, and I have known tremendous financial transactions moving successfully to completion and to fortune for the projectors, to fail because no chain is stronger than its weakest link, and the weak link had been left out in the cold.

We are in most respects the foremost people in the world in our freedom from traditions, legends and superstitions, and yet, in some respects the most conservative. Alexander Hamilton and Andrew Jackson have almost as much influence to-day as in their life-time. The revenue system of Hamilton remains practically unchanged and every variation has been brought about by little less than a revolution. The glorious victory over the British at New Orleans was won after peace had been declared and therefore had no influence upon the result. But the war of General Jackson upon the national bank, which destroyed it, and for the creation of the sub-treasury with the hoarding of the money collected from the people, and keeping it from circulation and the people's use has continued until to-day a fetich of American finance. The sole claim to distinction of this policy is that it differs from that of all great commercial nations who are free from our currency difficulties, because their system is the result of many centuries of experience. It gives to our currency a quality in its scarcity at times, and its plenteousness at other times which affects disastrously all our business and industrial interests. But it is unique in this that we alone among greatly successful peoples have a national currency which has a summer quality, a winter quality, a fall quality, and a spring quality. In the

winter it is tight, in the summer it is loose, in the spring it is variable, and in the fall it is contracted. When we were boys in the good old days in the country—for nearly all of us were born and brought up in the country—we looked forward with eagerness and reached the days with exquisite pleasure as they came along, of peach time, cherry time, apple time, strawberry time and huckleberry time. Now we have peaches and plums from South Africa in mid-winter. We have apples and pears at all seasons by cold storage. We have strawberries from the tropics until we are tired of them when they ripen at our doors. Cheap and swift transportation has annihilated seasons, and destroyed for the boys of to-day the pleasures of our youth. I trust that the agitation of this year will make our experience in fruits and berries which have eliminated seasons, result, by proper legislation, in the stability of our currency all the year round.

There are three events of the twelve months since we last met which are epoch-making. They are the proclamation of religious toleration by the Czar of Russia; the report of the coal strike commission, and the proposed settlement of the Irish land question. The effects of the first are yet to be judged by its administration. The other two mark the tremendous advance made since the Hague convention toward that arbitration which to be successful must end in conciliation.

The forces of capital and of labor have in the last year progressed in organization and in power beyond any previous twenty years. As warring factions they are destructive of the comforts, of the peace and almost of the life of communities and of the country. They ought to dwell together in harmony and live under a perfect understanding or with methods by which disputes can be speedily settled before all outside interests are involved. There was a period in the history of the world when there were no organizations of capital, but there were individual capitalists employing labor, and the rewards of labor were governed simply by the measure of income necessary for subsistence. In the happy evolutions of industrial development possible under democratic in-



stitutions, we have reached the higher and better judgment that labor is entitled to its proper share in its work with capital. I take only the branch which I know best, and these have been the results:

In 1866, when I began as an attorney with the railroad, the average pay per capita, including all classes on the pay roll, was less than \$400 a year; in 1880 it was \$520. In 1903 it was \$633 per annum, an advance of over twenty per cent. since 1880 and 58 per cent. since 1866. In 1880 capital received eight per cent. upon its investment in New York Central stock, and seven per cent. upon its investments in the bonds. In 1903 the stock-holder gets five and the bond-holder three-and-a-half per cent. Of the earnings in the year ending June 3d, 1902, capital received \$6,000,000 from the stock and \$20,600,000 from the bonds, or \$26,600,000 in the aggregate, while labor received \$29,093,400.

Universal education in the schools and that larger culture by absorption which has come from a knowledge of the markets and their needs and foreign competition, are educating both capital and labor and bringing to the front, in the great corporations and combinations which are the feature of our era, the broadest minded and ablest men, and have led the labor unions from necessity to select their natural leaders.

There never has been any code of law or ethics, except that of "might makes right" by which labor struggles could be settled. Strikes have been promoted sometimes by employers for an excuse to lay off their men and close their works and on the other hand without reasonable excuse by the workmen. Now, however, we have the report of a tribunal happily created at a critical moment in the cessation of the distribution of a prime article of necessity, composed of able men in every department of American life, with the judiciary and the church, with capital and labor, the producer and the consumer, all represented upon its board. Its decision was awaited with anxiety by the industrial world all around the globe. Its judgment being unanimous, its decrees will stand for the future as a basis for the settlement and adjustment

of disputes and relations between employers and employes, and has behind it public opinion—that force which there is no power in any organization to resist.

I wish here, for it seems a fitting opportunity, to pay tribute to one eminent leader with whose work I have been intimately familiar for over a quarter of a century. By his ability and his wisdom he has guided into a position of the strongest of labor organizations and one of the most respected, that of which he has been so long the head. With a business talent which would have won success in any vocation, the organization under his guidance has established and wisely administered a vast fund for help and maintenance. With tact, diplomacy and statesmanship he has guided his brotherhood through the many critical difficulties of the last twenty years, securing for his associates their rights and winning the respect of the railway presidents and managers with whom he has had to deal. Both capital and labor, as they approach more nearly to a common and mutually beneficial understanding, will recognize more and more their mutual debt to Chief Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

It is difficult to grasp the unexpected solution of the century of war of the Irish against English rule and landlordism. After innumerable revolts, after deaths upon the scaffold and imprisonment of Irish patriots, after half the population has been scattered all over the world, it is suddenly discovered that the pathway of peace through conciliation is both the salvation of the Irish people and another prop in the stability of the British Empire. In the place of armed camps and an ever present military constabulary, in the place of chronic unrest, bitter hostility and emigration, comes this extraordinary recognition of the spirit with which the twentieth century opens—arbitration leading to conciliation; not disputes and law suits with an exultant victor and a sullen vanquished, but neither victor nor vanquished, because in concession and conciliation each party has recognized justice and right and been their beneficiaries. As the government stepped into the coal strike with the appoint-

ment of a commission which settled the controversy, so the government of Great Britain, when the landlord will not yield for a price less than the amount whose income will be equal to the rent of the land, and the tenant cannot buy and live upon a price so large, makes a present to the landlord and the tenant of \$60,000,000, which pays the differences; and then relying upon the industry and integrity of the Irish people, loans them \$500,000,000 that they may become the owners in fee of the land on which they have lived and labored almost hopelessly for so many generations.

But, my friends, you and I to-night will look on the lighter side of life, on those foibles of human nature, whether they are ours or the other fellow's, from which we can get fun. There is nothing like the position of a United States Senator for the student of humanity. One thing which I have noticed all my life is that most men who have become foremost in their vocation think they could have done much better in some other line. Distinguished army and navy officers generally believe that they would have been great orators. Men of letters are often under the impression that if their talents had been applied to affairs they would have accumulated fortunes and been captains of industry. The parishioner in the pew who is a poor listener, because his unfinished transactions in "undigested securities" on Saturday night bother his brain during the service on Sunday will remark on the way home from church with his family, "The doctor was very dull this morning; I could preach a better sermon than that myself." That man might make a dollar a minute, but he could not formulate for five minutes, so as to interest anybody or without breaking down, the line of thought which his pastor had pursued. A gentleman who was at the front of his profession, said to me the other day, "I have been reading your speeches and studying your life, and have come to the conclusion that you get an enormous amount of pleasure out of everything. My career was fixed by circumstances in my youth, and my success has been entirely satisfactory, but I have often wondered of late if I did not make a mistake—whether I ought not to have

entered politics and accepted the United States Senatorship." His experience reminded me of the son of a Senator who was playing around the cloak room and when asked what he intended to do when he grew up answered, "I want to be a stage driver, but I suppose I have got to be a United States Senator."

The difficult problem with busy men is how to get rid of bores—bores for loans, bores for wants of every possible kind. The poet Horace in Roman days gave the tip to unload them on your friends. But that is not always possible. The two most important words as preventives and antidotes for loss and worry are "no" and "stop." To be able to say "no" to the fascinating promoter, "no" to the friend who wants your endorsement to his note, "no" to the one whom you wish to help, but whose request involves you in his business, which you do not understand, will save you from a great amount of anxiety and embarrassment. If affection or friendship, or the failure of will power leads you to say "yes," then come in the protective qualities of "stop." "Stop" requires immense moral courage. It means that you accept your loss and cross the transaction off your books. It means that you turn a deaf ear to the assurance that a little more and a little more will make the business a success, return you your money and establish your friend on a firm basis. It never does. The obligations pile up, the worry increases until your limit is reached. Only the most drastic measures will get rid of such people and they are the ones closest to us.

A few lines which I heard the other day, and which possibly may be new to you, shows how a young lady tactfully met this difficulty.

"Go ask papa," the maiden said.  
He knew that her papa was dead;  
He also knew the life he led,  
And to where her answer led,  
When "Go ask papa," the maiden said.

"Let us live while we live at the top of our bent, for to-morrow we die" is Epicurean. It is a selfish philosophy. The Horatian maxium of *carpe diem* is lit-

tle better. They lead to dissipation which saps the moral, spiritual, intellectual and physical fibres of manhood. The philosophy of Longfellow's Psalm of Life is infinitely better:

“Act, act in the living present!  
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

But act that each to-morrow  
Finds us farther than to-day.”

We pass this way but once. There is no return over the old roadway. There should be no reason for desiring to retrace our steps. No one who has wisely lived should care to go back and begin again. I have no sympathy with those who would throw away all the pleasures of the past, all its loves and friendships, all the emotions felt as each round in the ladder of a career was reached and left behind, if only they could be once more in possession of youth and have life before them. At each milestone we can gather and distribute. We can leave something of hope, of help and of encouragement to those who follow, and still carry on, if we are determined that the world owes us more pleasure than sorrow, more gain than loss, more happiness than misery, more friends than enemies, a rich accumulation like that of the affectionate greeting which comes from you all here to-night, which does not burden but relieves, which lightens the task the heavier it grows, which starts us on the morrow with a purer spirit, a clearer brain, a happier heart and a better purpose.



## At the Banquet Given by the Lotos Club to Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, May 9, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LOTOS CLUB:  
We meet to greet and to welcome with all our hearts our distinguished friend and fellow-citizen, the Secretary of War. In the thirty-odd years of the existence of this club, its members have come to play many parts. Its reception is a decoration which has been bestowed upon men of distinction in every walk of life. For the evening the Lotos members are of the faith and profession of their guest. If he be a statesman, so are we; if a general or an admiral, so are we; if a man of letters, an artist or an actor, we line up as near his standard as possible. If he be a Governor or Mayor, we breathe the gubernatorial atmosphere and have the air and manners of power. But it is only for the night. On the morrow, we are our normal selves again, but the celebration lives in the annals of the club and in happy remembrance of the guest. To this rule, however, there are exceptions. It is when one, whom we have known and loved for years, whose career in its upward course we have watched with eagerness, admiration and pride, who in the full fruition of his fame and his success accepts our invitation and is again one of us. An evening with him is one of our red-letter nights and never forgotten. It is our celebration as much as it is his. However much he may enjoy the tribute, we feel that we share in his triumph and the victories he has won.

There have been many Secretaries of War in the history of our country. It would be an interesting speculation if we were all to be placed upon the stand, how many of them we could recall. There are two who stand out with as great prominence as Carnot among the War Ministers of France. Those two are Stanton and Root.

It was my fortune to be brought in contact with Secre-

tary Stanton under conditions which revealed his merits and his defects. His was one of those imperial and commanding natures of superior executive ability and unlimited courage who associates brutality with power. He possessed qualities which, in the desperate struggle for the nation's life in the Civil War, were necessary as a complement to those of President Lincoln. A citizen soldiery, a volunteer army of two millions, commanded by officers untrained to war, to the discipline of the military service, to obedience and subordination, which are the essentials of an army, must necessarily have, both among those who hold commissions and those in the ranks, many who will be guilty of serious military offences. The marvel is, as we read the record of the Civil War, that with an army hastily gathered, under such conditions, there were so few. President Lincoln with his kind heart was always ready to pardon any offence and would never sign a decree of death. Stanton held every one guilty for the slightest infraction of discipline and insisted upon the severest punishment. Powerful politicians, as United States Senators, or Members of Congress, or Governors of States, might prevent the punishment or dismissal of an officer on the plea that he should be tried again if they appealed to the President, but with the Secretary of War it was fatal. It was these qualities of the great Secretary which weeded out incompetency and encouraged efficiency, and finally made the armies of the East and the West the most magnificent bodies of troops of modern times, and invincible.

At one of General Sherman's birthday dinners, given by himself to himself, when reminiscence among the great fighters of the Civil War who were present was the delight of the evening, one famous commander said: "Sherman, I had the greatest difficulty in maintaining the discipline in my army, because President Lincoln, if the decision of the court-martial ever passed the Secretary of War, always remitted the sentence or pardoned the offence. How did you manage?" The reply of the grim general was, "I always shot them first."

In the Presidential election of 1864, the New York



Legislature assigned to me, as Secretary of State, the duty of collecting the soldiers' vote. I spent the summer in Washington on this business and frequently met both President Lincoln and the Secretary of War. The best recollections of my life are the hours I was privileged to spend with the great President and listen to his talk and his stories. The most disagreeable were my interviews with Secretary Stanton in the effort to secure from him the information by which I could get the vote of the soldiers of New York. After being treated very rudely many times, I finally very insistently, as the time was short, demanded an answer. He very curtly said that the New York soldiers were scattered in armies, divisions, brigades, regiments and separate companies all over the country, that the revelation of where they were located and where the ballots might reach them might be revealed to the enemy and was information of the kind which he would never permit to be given. He dismissed the subject with an oath and a bang. I said, "Sir, if President Lincoln fails to carry New York because the soldiers cannot vote the fault will be yours." He said, "It is a matter of indifference with me how New York votes, Sir, my business is with the army." Whatever of reputation for good temper, or amiability, or conservative language I had accumulated up to that time was then lost. Rushing down the hall of the War office to catch the train to explode in the New York papers, I met Elihu Washburn, the fast friend of Mr. Lincoln. He stopped me, wanted to know the cause of my excitement, and I told him my struggles for three months. He said, "Have you ever mentioned this to the President?" I said, "No." "Well," said he, "you do not understand him. While Lincoln is one of the greatest Presidents the country has ever had, if not the greatest since Washington, he is one of the best politicians we ever produced in the West. He would take a carpet bag and go on foot and collect those votes himself if necessary. Wait here until I return." A promise of an hour up and down the hall with officers flying hither and thither was relieved at last by an officer saying, "The Secretary desires to see you." I have rarely

been received with more cordiality, kindness and politeness than I was by Mr. Stanton on this, my twenty-fifth or thirtieth, visit to the Minister of War, each of which had been more disagreeable than the preceding, after the visit which either the President had made to him, or he to the President, and in an hour I was in possession of all the needed information and on my way to Albany to prepare the papers for the soldiers' vote of New York.

Now if Root had been Secretary of War at that time, he would have been quite as careful as Stanton, but his methods would have kept the state official his friend. He would have referred him to General Corbin to be disciplined and chastened. Corbin would have sent him to the Bureau of Information, which would have spent several weeks looking into the subject and then reported that they had no authority. The state officer would then be led to Colonel Sanger, who would have overwhelmed him with politeness, invited him to dinner and given him everything but the information. By this time Secretary Root would have discovered that the President was anxious about New York and wanted the vote to be had at all hazards. Then he would have sent for the state officer, and the state officer would have received a list of the New York troops, their location and the methods of reaching them under conditions which, for the rest of his life, would make him feel under an obligation to Secretary Root and would rank him among the best friends of his life.

History is seldom, if ever, an impartial recital of the facts. It is never an impartial revelation of the underlying causes upon which the facts rest. The standpoint of the historian inspires the story. We are very near the Spanish-American war and yet our people are hopelessly divided upon what ought to be in our immediate recollection transparent and open to every one. That war came unexpectedly. In thirty-seven years of peace the country had become wholly unprepared for war. We had neither guns, ammunition, uniforms nor material, and yet an army of 250,000 men, all volunteers, was mobilized in a

few weeks and placed in the field. In a hundred days the war was over. It was ended by an astonishing series of victories on land and sea. Then upon the country devolved a responsibility greater than had ever fallen in all our conflicts, or any conflict of any nation in modern times. It is natural that mistakes should occur and blunders should be made here and there and that there should be gross incompetence in the haste of such a campaign. But yet, as we look back after six years, it is simply marvelous that the mistakes and the blunders and the incompetence were so insignificant. But an anxious people always holds some one in the administration responsible. Blame was centered upon Secretary Alger and I wish to say here emphatically that time will vindicate him as completely as did his fellow citizens of Michigan in evincing with rare unanimity their appreciation by giving him the best place in their gift—the Senatorship from their State.

It was in the difficulty which was very acute, present and future, of finding a Secretary of War who would be equal to the immense responsibilities which had come upon the office by our freeing of Cuba and our acquisition of Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, that President McKinley turned to Elihu Root. I heard him say, "I want a great lawyer who is also a man of large administrative and executive ability, who is wise as well as able. Unsettled constitutional questions are before us and action must be had before the courts can decide. We must govern Cuba until she is capable of taking care of herself as an independent republic, we must restore order and peace and establish courts and provide an administration for Porto Rico and the Philippines solely under Presidential authority and responsibility. The work will tax the strongest man and the solution of these problems as they arise the best legal brain in the country." He feared that the man whose qualities he outlined—and there could be but very few such—would hesitate before sacrificing a proud place at the head of his profession, with all its honor and emoluments, to assume a position which promised little except an approving conscience, patriotic effort and bound-

less criticism. There never was any doubt in the President's mind as to who that man was and there never was a happier occupant of the White House than when Elihu Root wrote accepting the offer to become Secretary of War.

Well, gentlemen, the rest is history. Cuba assisted step by step, and every step inspired from the War Office, has assumed her place among the nations of the world. Porto Rico has become one of the most happy and prosperous of colonies. Peace, order and justice have succeeded insurrection and anarchy in the Philippine Islands. The methods pursued by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt under the advice of Elihu Root have been ratified by Congress and approved by the Supreme Court of the United States.

General Washington, who so marvelously foresaw and forecast the needs of his country for the future, endeavored to have the militia or national guard of the several states so organized that it might be subject to the call of the national government as part of its army in time of need. Many times since Presidents have endeavored to bring about this result so essential to a great power. It has always been defeated by the boggy of State rights and centralization. During the last Congress this dream of Washington's materialized largely because the Secretary of War enlisted the Confederate brigadiers against the ante-bellum statesmen. The Confederate brigadiers had served gloriously under the flag in the war with Spain and had thus lost the inherited prejudices of their section. Our army is the best and most intelligent in its material in the world, but has been handicapped because its organization could not be based upon the plans which have been worked out by the most advanced military governments. It has remained practically unchanged since the ragged Continentals won their glorious victories in the Revolutionary War. But war, like every other pursuit, in these strenuous modern days must be ruled by scientific methods. The leaders must be men of both training and genius for their profession. Troops cannot be successfully placed in the field nor properly organized, drilled and led to victory

except by that rare combination of trained ability and born adaptability which in every department of effort brings success. Modern methods of organization have always failed by appeals, on the part of the old timers who want no changes, to the prejudices against foreign methods and monarchical precedents. Happily in the liberalization and enlargement, which have come from our growth and contact with all peoples of the world, we are adopting more and more every year in our administrative policies the idea first advanced by John Wesley and enlarged by Henry Ward Beecher when they said in introducing tunes from the opera and concerts for hymns in the churches, that the devil was not entitled to the best music. With that happy faculty of putting things so lucidly that there can be no different conclusion by fair minded men, the Secretary of War, after three years of effort, finally succeeded during last winter in procuring legislation by which our army will be governed by a general staff and promotions come from merit as well as seniority. Under the old rule a captain with capacity for commanding a company and none for larger responsibility, might in course of years become a general and paw the air under the illusion that his head had grown to a general's size. In active work thousands of lives might be lost and plans go astray before his incompetency was discovered. But under the new system as each advance of grade is made, record and examination test the fitness of the candidate.

We to-night can welcome, can cheer and honor to the extent of our ability our old friend Elihu Root and glory in his distinction, but his place is fixed forever in the history of our country as one of the greatest of its war ministers.



**On the Occasion of the Celebration of the Bicentennial of the Birth of John Wesley,  
at Philadelphía, May 22, 1903.**

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Each century has its claims for the consideration of posterity. It produces men of achievement whose work in arms, in art, in letters or in a great humane movement of reform changes the course of history and affects the destinies of millions in the future. There are many such leaders in every cycle, but there is no such exterminator as time. With the generations as they come and go the numbers of those held in recollection constantly diminish. We have within the memory of those now living an extraordinary example of this process of elimination and selection. At the close of our Civil War there were at least a hundred distinguished soldiers, on the one side or the other, who were apparently destined to immortality. Their names were household words and their deeds on every lip. But in the thirty-seven years since Appomattox, so rapid has been the accumulation of events and so intense have been the demands of progress upon the student and the worker, it now requires reference to history to bring to the attention of the present generation any name or reputation beyond possibly three on the Union and two on the Confederate side.

The eighteenth century was rich in men and women of tremendous influence in their day. In Germany there was Frederick the Great, while literature and science were represented by Kant, Jean Paul Richter and Humboldt. In France was Louis XIV, with the government of De Maintenon, and in the next reign De Pompadour, ending with Napoleon. It was also in France a period of brilliant scepticism, with Voltaire, Rousseau and Chateaubriand, and famous in literature, philosophy and science with Laplace, Lavoisier, Diderot and Guizot, and it gave to

American Independence Lafayette and Rochambeau. In England were Chatham, Fox and Burke and the wonderful literary circle about Dr. Samuel Johnson, with Sir Walter Scott and Burns illuminating the north like an Aurora Borealis. They are all in histories and libraries, they all have their admirers, lovers and students, but none of them as a living factor to-day, in the lives, faiths, works and careers of millions can compare with John Wesley.

In such a century, with upheavals which produced American Independence and the French Revolution, John Wesley labored, almost from its beginning to its close, and now two hundred years after his birth there are more men and women of education and intelligence revering his memory, following his teachings, grateful for the grace that has come through his example and the truths he taught and celebrating his anniversary, than there were inhabitants of Great Britain while he lived.

The supreme test as to whether a work be true or false, of priest or prophet, is its vitalizing power, not for a day nor for the lifetime of the preacher, but for all time. Wesley's career is especially significant and impressive as we enter upon the twentieth century. We live in a period when education inspires research—and research delves remorselessly into faiths, prejudices, superstitions and traditions. Any creed in the civilized and highly cultured portions of the globe must stand the test of these examinations and enter fearlessly into debate and controversy for existence. Buddha and Confucius have been followed for ages by the millions of the Orient. Faith in them crumbles when brought in contact with western civilization and investigation for the truth.

There is something very picturesque and dramatic in John Wesley's life. A graduate of Oxford, a teacher at the University, a scholar cultured in all the learning possible of the times, he followed his clergyman father and became a clergyman. The necessity for Methodism, for the revival which it started, for the uplifting of the masses which was its mission, is best evidenced by the fact that Wesley, conscientious in his calling, eloquent, faithful and earnest, preached ten years before he was converted.



There is nothing in literature more pathetic than this statement in his diary: "I who went to America to convert others was never myself converted to God." This proves that the established church of that period was a structure of doctrine, dogma and ritual which perfunctorily claimed a poor service from the classes and was beyond the reach of the masses. The condition of the toilers in collieries, in workshops and on farms was little above slavery. Labor unions had not yet been organized and there was no work being done for bettering the condition of the workers.

It was in this field, and a most unpromising one at that time, John Wesley began and continued his extraordinary labors. I look upon the advent of Wesley into the missionary field as the commencement of that effort on behalf of labor which has stricken the shackles from the slave, which has given dignity to the calling, which has uplifted the whole plane of humanity to the light and life and hope of to-day. So we learn first what his church has learned, the necessity for an educated minister. With the people with whom he had to deal, and there are none such now, the lay preacher was a revelation and a success. There always will be greatly gifted men, gifted in their power over others, who can accomplish wonderful results without training; but they are very few. Another lesson which is taught by Wesley's life is the necessity for the courage to break from old associations and traditions which are interwoven into the very fibre of a man's brain and heart, when it is discovered that there is no possibility of reformation from within. It is always wise for the reformer to labor with might and main within the organization to redeem it from its errors and to expose the corruptions which have crept in, to lop off its dead members and to infuse new life and spirit into its activities. But when this fails and the organization is bound to its idols, then it becomes not only necessary but patriotic to start anew.

When both the old parties in our country were wedded to slavery, the salvation of the Union and the redemption of the Republic from its curse came by patriotic men leaving both old parties, and uniting in the army of freedom.

So Wesley withstood persecutions, had church doors closed against him, was arrested as a disturber of the peace, was in danger of life and limb from mobs inspired by magistrates and the established clergy and struggled within the old organization. It was another ten years from his conversion before he saw that his mission could only be accomplished outside of the established church. We cannot fail to notice the prophetic spirit moving and energizing at successive periods in his life the thoughts and actions of John Wesley. We stand in the presence of the memory and of the spirit of one of those men, so few and yet so powerful in recorded history, whom God has distinctly raised up for special purposes. We recognize them in Luther and in John Wesley, in Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

Wesley was an Englishman and thoroughly loyal to his King and country. His prolific pen was on the side of Great Britain during the early days of the controversy between parliament and the colonies. But when independence was assured, he was the first Englishman to recognize its far-reaching effect. A strong man with ambition and self-centered would have wished to continue the hold upon his church in the young and growing Republic. But this great apostle was neither weak nor personally ambitious. He was laboring not for the fame of John Wesley or the triumph of Methodism as his church, but for the extension of those principles which he saw were doing so much for humanity wherever they were embraced. So he instantly set free the American church to work out its own salvation and to seek guidance only from the Supreme Power. I cannot recall another instance where a great reformer has founded his schools around the world that he has not secured the consent, if possible, and overridden the refusal, if necessary, of different governments to keep his individual hold and personal opinions alive and active everywhere. It was in primitive settlements scattered through the wilderness and along the frontier, that Methodism through its lay preachers, as well as its authorized ministers, did such magnificent work in the early period of our nation. It is the tendency of iso-

lated communities, who are fighting savage men and savage beasts and subduing wild nature, to drop into barbarism, but in every one of these communities was one of themselves—a frontiersman, a worker, a pioneer,—fired by the example, acting under the authority and preaching the teachings of John Wesley, who made our frontier populations the most healthful, moral and religious colonists the world has ever known.

Wesley is immortal because of the adaptability of the truth represented by him to all stations in life, all conditions in diverse and widely separated communities and all ages of the world. It is a common saying indicative of current thought that "money talks." Judged by this standard, far from being a base one, when the money is contributed and is used for higher purposes, the twentieth century gift by Methodists to Methodism has no parallel. The vast sum, counting its millions by the number of centuries of the Christian era, poured into churches, colleges, seminaries and missions, is to work still greater wonders than ever in the upbuilding of character which makes citizenship and the principles and institutions which serve both God and government.

Many years ago, I visited for the first time Westminster Abbey. No spot in the world is so impressive to the student of English history and literature. I walked reverently beneath the arches of this ancient church and modern mausoleum. I gazed upon the monuments raised to those who had been mighty in peace and in war, statesmen, soldiers, authors. It is a marvelous congregation which surrounds one. I stood at last before a slab upon which was a bust of John Wesley, and under it this simple inscription, "All the world is my parish." My thoughts ran rapidly backward. I saw this young man of Oxford University entering the ministry of the established church with a future full of promise for its highest honors and rewards. I saw him persecuted and despised, churches closed against him, mobs raging around him, the companion and the saviour of the poor and the lowly, the unfortunate, the persecuted and the oppressed. I saw him when a strong church and a great following had increased the hatred

of his contemporaries while his power commanded their respect. And now, after a hundred years, his value and name were triumphantly enshrined by those who would have destroyed him in life, in the oldest and most venerated of the churches of the establishment and among the most renowned, honored and loved of England's mighty dead.

At the Luncheon Given at the Metropolitan  
Club by the Chamber of Commerce to the  
Artist St. Gaudens, Governor Odell,  
Mayor Low and Guests after the  
Unveiling of the Statue of  
General Sherman, May  
30, 1903.

MR. CHAIRMAN, GOVERNOR, MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN:  
This occasion is one of the most significant and suggestive in the history of New York. We celebrated with imposing and appropriate ceremonies, a few days ago, the 250th anniversary of the city's birth. It was a gratifying fact that it had surpassed in almost every element of municipal greatness all its rivals in the world save London. Many of them have an ancestry of a thousand years or more. New York was founded upon commercial lines and its development has been along the paths of trade and finance. The genius of its citizens has easily pushed it to the front in two centuries and a half until its business and industrial position is commanding, and in the near future it will be the financial center of the world. This development has resulted in an accumulation and aggregation of almost incalculable individual and municipal wealth. Great riches amassed by the individual appear first in palaces for the owner with every accompaniment which money can purchase of the art of the decorator, painter and sculptor. As he becomes conscious of the responsibilities of wealth and the pleasure in its beneficent use, he gives liberally for hospitals, asylums and libraries, Professional schools and educational institutions owe their foundation and endowment to private munificence. Then come from the same source, picture galleries, museums of art and natural history, botanical and zoological gardens and broad opportunities for the culture and recreation of the people. These are the visible evidences of appreciation of the blessings of unlimited material success. The in-

visible and sentimental expression of pride and patriotism comes when the city erects statues of the great which speak eloquently in marble and bronze to succeeding generations of the glory of the country, of its achievements and of the men who have made it free, great and respected throughout the world.

It is here that a young city like New York—young when compared with the older capitals of the world—is deficient. In London and Paris, in Rome, Berlin and Vienna, the traveler sees the imperishable memorials to their men of genius and achievement. They are the inspiration of youth and the pride of age. The poverty of our great Central Park in this respect unhappily emphasizes and enforces this idea. The Scotch have placed there a remarkable statue of Burns in an attitude which represents, by its contortions, the supposed moment of inspiration and composition in the divine mind of the poet. Some South Americans have on a hill a statue of Bolivar on a horse, the Liberator eagerly pressing forward on the animal's neck, as if anxious to jump over its head and escape. It is said that from this position the famous jockey, Tod Sloan, got the suggestion upon which he won so many races on the English turf, of riding on the horse's neck. Bolivar is gone from the park; whether he escaped with assistance or by his own bronze energy is unknown. Some admirers have given us a statue of Shakespeare with bare legs. We have also a bust of Humboldt on an Assyrian monolith, and Columbus carrying a flag which he is supposed to have planted on San Salvador. The only American statue in the park that I can recall is the effective and gigantic memorial to Daniel Webster presented by Gordon W. Burnham. Happily, however, we begin to-day a new era. The materialism which has ruled us evolutes at last into the spiritual. No one can estimate the influence exerted upon our people from all over the United States in their daily pilgrimages to the tomb of General Grant. Now at the entrance of the park is placed this superb and artistic statue of General Sherman. It will instruct for all time to come in patriotism and courage, and in high devotion to the salvation and welfare of the country, the un-

numbered millions who travel the highways of a land where all roads lead to New York.

General Sherman was the most picturesque, attractive and charming personality that has illumined our social and municipal life during our generation. His conversational power, his brilliancy in narrative and reminiscence, his almost childlike, immediate and explosive expression, without suppression, of his opinion on people and events, are the choicest memories of those who knew him. I remember many years ago, during the Presidency of General Grant, at a famous dinner of the New England Society, Senator Sumner, then at the height of his fame as an orator, and bitterly hostile to Grant as President, delivered the speech of the evening. It was an elaborately prepared address and committed to memory. Its subject was Miles Standish, and Mr. Sumner developed the civic weakness and failures of the Puritan soldier as an illustration of the unfitness of the great General for the duties of Chief Magistrate of this Republic. The moment he sat down General Sherman was on his feet. His reply was the most effective of impromptu speeches. He was defending his friend and old commander and his profession as a soldier. He was speaking from his heart; he was hot with indignation. The effort swept the assembly off its feet and made men forget the speech of the orator and statesman.

The General gave himself a birthday dinner every year he lived in New York until his death. His guests were his companions in arms, the Generals who had served under him during the Civil War. He rarely had any civilian present, but I was privileged to always be there, because of the General's devotion to his kin. The relationship was distant enough. Two Shermans, one a clergyman and the other a soldier, settled in Massachusetts in 1634. The General was descended from the clergyman, while I, through the Roger Sherman line, was descended from the soldier. This attenuated relationship was sufficient for such an ardent and devoted family man as our friend, to make us, in his view, cousins.

If the stories told at those dinners could be faithfully reported they would form a most interesting and valuable

volume of reminiscences and anecdotes. I recall two told by General Sherman.

One was that after a hot battle the enemy retreated; he joined in the pursuit and in his eagerness was among the first in the deserted camp. He saw the body of a Confederate soldier on a barrel and a man standing over him with a knife. He shouted, to prevent what he thought was about to be a murder. On reaching them, however, he discovered that both were dead. One was a wounded Confederate soldier, the other a surgeon who was about to operate upon him. From some cause, and he thought the concussion from a shell, or a ball passing between them, both had been killed and remained transfixed like statues in the attitude in which they died.

He loved to talk of his war days while campaigning on the plains among the Indians. Around the camp-fire in the night the officers and the scouts were passing away the time in what is generally known on the frontier, even among "officers and gentlemen," as "swapping lies." The prize went to the narrator and entertainer who had the most athletic imagination. We must remember that the vast territory between the Missouri River and the Pacific Coast was then practically unexplored and filled with hostile savages. One of the scouts told of having found a forest where the trees had been turned to stone, some still standing, but others fallen on the ground, and of how in the broken stumps were preserved forever the rings and markings of the wood. Of course, nobody believed a word of this. Bridger, a famous scout, after whom Fort Bridger was named, felt that his honor was in danger, and said, "Oh! I know all about that place. They call them trees petrified trees, but I have seen a forest in New Mexico of petrified trees, where petrified birds sat on petrified boughs, singing petrified songs." That night was Bridger's.

General Sherman once invited me to accompany him to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. As Col. Cody, in the character of General Custer, came in at the head of his cavalry and passed the box and saluted, the old General responded with as much dignity as if they had been the real heroes of the Custer campaign and massacre. When the fight



began and the Sioux Chief, Red Cloud, rushed along at the head of his Indians, the General said in wild excitement, "I made the mistake of my life. I had that infernal scoundrel in my hands for four days. I wanted to shoot him but was persuaded not to at the time. I ought to have shot him!"

We owe this statue of Sherman to the initiative and liberality of our Chamber of Commerce and the genius of the sculptor, Mr. St. Gaudens. The Chamber of Commerce, which is the oldest commercial body in the United States, has devoted its energies wisely and constructively for 130 years to building up the commerce of the City of New York. It has been foremost in every enterprise which added to the power, strength and wealth of the metropolis. It is a happy omen for the future that this venerable and representative organization should be among the first to put in practice the sentiment which erects imperishable memorials to the great men of our country. It is time that the City in its corporate capacity should wisely continue this movement. There ought to be in our parks, for the instruction and inspiration of youth for all time, the bronze or marble figures, not only of our warriors, but of our statesmen and our men of letters, science and art. We have not, and for centuries to come cannot have, a Westminster Abbey, but along the paths and roadways of our parks where our citizens travel and our children play can be placed memorials to those who have made and are to make our City, our State and our Country all that the best citizenship, the most ardent aspirations and patriotic efforts can desire.



## Interview of Senator Depew on his Return from Abroad, August 24, 1903.

Last year England was jubilant with the close of the Boer war and the coronation of the King. Now the people are absorbed in the discussion of protection and free trade under the euphonious title of an "inquiry into the fiscal policy of the empire." It is arousing deeper feeling, breaking more friendships and is more threatening to party cohesion than the home rule issue of Mr. Gladstone. For sixty years England has ascribed her commercial prosperity and supremacy to free trade. It is the bottom faith of all parties. The first thing every Englishman has said to me since our country has come to the front in industrial competition has been, "We are all right so long as you keep to protection, but if you ever come to free trade our foreign commerce will be badly crippled." In the swing of the political pendulum it is time for the party so long in power, with its Boer war debt and troubles, its educational controversies and the desire of democracies for a change, to be defeated. But undoubtedly because he believes in it, and to give a new issue to what would otherwise be a purely defensive campaign, Mr. Chamberlain, the ablest, most courageous, aggressive and resourceful of British politicians, has projected the policy of protection.

For two generations this question has been out of Parliament and out of print. Arguments which are as old with us as Alexander Hamilton, and still fresh and vigorous with William McKinley, are unknown in England. The hot discussion ruins the social side of dinners and interrupts the conservatism of trade. Nearly the whole Liberal party gathered at the National Liberal Club to listen to a kindergarten lecture for free trade from our friend Bourke Cockran, and it was the oratorical triumph of his life. The cry is something like "Protection for revenue

only!" which Mr. Cleveland gave the Democratic party, and which carried the country—partly in 1884 and wholly in 1892—because the people were determined to try the experiment. It is also as keen a cleaver into the ranks of the Unionist party as was Mr. Bryan's 16 to 1 with the Democrats in 1896. To prevent an open rupture the Cabinet adopted a device which is original and worthy the brilliant political genius of its author. To allow a debate in Parliament, when all the Liberal leaders and many of the strongest and ablest of the Conservatives, including a majority of the Cabinet, would make speeches against Mr. Chamberlain's policy, would break up the party and educate the country. But the announcement that the Cabinet was making an "inquiry," and not ready to formulate a policy, enabled the government to shut off debate. It gives Mr. Chamberlain a fresh field for the campaign which he begins in October on the platform, and is now prosecuting by leaflet and pamphlet and in the press, and the advantage of making a lodgment for protection in the minds of the people while they are open to conviction. An "inquiry" is destined to take a high place in political management. It may mean investigation and report, or that the promoters of a policy are marking time while finding out which way the cat will jump. If it was believed the United States would retaliate by overthrowing the transit privileges for Canadian grain across our territory, the food part of protection would be dropped at once.

Protection is making headway in England. The large subsidy to the Cunard ships, the countervailing duties on sugar to protect the colonies against Continental bounties, the livestock inspection, which is used to limit importations that will compete with the British farmer, the additions made from time to time for revenue to dutiable articles, from which now about \$75,000,000 a year is collected, are all surrenders of free trade fortresses. Protection countries are dumping into England the surplus of their manufactures at cost or less, and driving out of existence, one after another, British industries, and the invasion of their home market, which is the basis of their

manufactures, pinches harder every year. Continental countries are pouring into England the dregs of their population, who by their low standard of living are crowding the British workingman both out of the tenement where he lives decently and out of employment by accepting wages upon which he cannot exist. The report of the Parliamentary committee, made a few weeks ago, at the close of the session, suggests drastic legislation to keep out this undesirable immigration.

The coronation pageant and the parade with and for President Loubet were in a sense the same, but the significance of each was immeasurably different. We have become so accustomed to centennials that they appeal to us, and here, just one hundred years after Napoleon tried so hard to cross the Channel, his successor as the ruler of the French was received with a cordiality and enthusiasm as remarkable as they were sincere. It was amusing to hear the English yelling as it is spelled, and not as the French is pronounced, "Vive Loubet!" King Edward VII with rare tact and sense has done more in a few months to break down the hatred and prejudice of centuries between those hereditary enemies, England and France, than the diplomats of both countries have accomplished in generations.

Quite as significant were the attentions shown to the officers of the American fleet and the brotherly way they were greeted everywhere. The King, the Lord Mayor and the people did their best to extend a welcome to them which would be equal to that given the President of France, and only a suggestion of what would be done if by any possibility the President of the United States should visit England. The English think that with the Irish land question satisfactorily settled, and the King's cordial reception in Ireland, the Irish-American hostility will disappear and much closer relations and feelings grow between the people of the United States and Great Britain.

The continuing fall in prices of stocks without a panic in industries astonished statesmen, financiers and business men abroad. A corresponding drop in standard English railway shares of from thirty to one hundred points could

not occur without a general collapse of the whole fabric of business and credit. While this unusual spectacle bewilders foreigners, it excites distrust as to our methods and management. A large investor said to me: "I cannot understand why, when I have held for years a piece of paper representing my purchase in an American company, and it has paid dividends regularly, and I know all about it, and have absolute confidence in it, I should be compelled to exchange it for three pieces of paper, not knowing whether any or all of them together are worth anything for permanent investment." This stock panic ruined the vacations of Americans abroad. They were apprehensive of its spreading, or, like most of our countrymen, they had taken little flyers on sailing, "just to pay expenses, you know." A Wall Street man said to me: "While I was on the Acropolis, gazing at the Parthenon, and my friends were in ecstasies over its history and grandeur, I would have given a large amount toward the fund for its restoration or removal if I could at that minute have been at the corner of Fifth avenue and Broadway looking up at the Flatiron Building."

Mrs. Maybrick, after nineteen years' imprisonment, must have retained, in spite of her sufferings, her American humor. A woman visiting the prison recently congratulated the poor woman upon her coming release next year, and asked what she expected to do. "Well," said Mrs. Maybrick, "society is so quiet and dull here I think I will take a trip around the world."

The most unpromising situations can yield some fun to alleviate the tedium of travel. I saw a French custom-house paralyzed. An American had become so impressed with the quality and cheapness of Swiss cigars that he had bought a hundred for \$1 and hidden them in his trunk. The customs officers pulled out the box, and amid wild gesticulations wanted to know what it meant. In the meantime a mouse jumped out from under the dress of one of the party and flew for refuge at one and then another of the women. For a few minutes pandemonium broke loose, and screams could be heard a mile. Happily, before

a tragedy, the mouse scurried out and across the track, and the customs officer let the man have his box for \$10. He said afterward he thought he could do better at home.

I found many pensioners of our Civil War in Switzerland. Most of them were natives of the country, but had fought in our armies. They said at Swiss hotels in many places they got excellent board, a clean room and good care for \$9 a month, and with farmers in the country for \$6, and were passing the evening of their lives as local oracles and with comfort and distinction.





**At the Unveiling of the Monument Presented to  
the State of New York by the Society  
of Colonial Wars, at Lake George,  
September 8, 1903.**

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—We have been celebrating for many years the centennials as they came along of the battles of the Revolution, of the Declaration of Independence, of the adoption of the Constitution and the inauguration of our first president. These ceremonials have been of incalculable educational value for the present and coming generations. Material prosperity, commercial ambition, the rewards of promotion and discovery in a new country and the mad rush for wealth had caused the memory or knowledge of the deeds and men of the heroic days which made us a nation to pass almost into oblivion. We accepted the blessings of liberty as a matter of course without studying or thinking of or being inspired by the achievements and sacrifices of the fathers of the Republic. To-day we go back to the early time of preparation and discipline. From 1755 to 1759 the wilderness about Lakes George and Champlain was the field of struggle between the two strongest nations of the world for the control, ownership and government of the North American continent. A few thousand hardy pioneers and frontiersmen were fighting both for an empire and for the civilization and institutions which should govern it.

The English planted a fringe of settlements along the Atlantic coast, but claimed the whole country to the Pacific ocean by virtue of the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot. The French colonists built their cabins and laid out their farms along the St. Lawrence River, and by adventurous explorations found and occupied the vast regions about the great lakes and the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi.

No more courageous or capable travelers ever braved the dangers of the wilderness and its savage denizens and the perils of navigation on unknown waters than did the Jesuit Fathers La Salle, Hennepin, Joliet and Marquette, who in birch bark canoes and tiny and frail sloops sailed along the shores of Lakes Erie, Michigan, Huron and Superior, up and down the Fox, Wisconsin, Illinois, Wabash, St. Croix and Kankakee Rivers; and the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico. They established missions and raised the flag of France from New Orleans to Natchez, at the junction of the Ohio and Manongahela, at Pittsburg, at Chicago, at Detroit, at Niagara, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, and on Lake Champlain and Lake George. Soldiers followed, and French fortresses commanded the country and the French monopolized the fur trade with the Indians all over the northwest, the middle west and the territories tributary to the Mississippi.

The French had greater faculty for friendship with the Indians than the English and made alliances with the powerful and warlike tribes who roamed and hunted over this vast area. The danger to the colonies was so imminent and border conflicts so common that they were brought to bury their differences and jealousies and act together. The wise and farsighted Franklin called a convention at Albany in 1754 and framed a plan for Colonial Union. The movement was premature and was rejected. But its discussion aroused public sentiment and prepared the way for the confederation in 1776—twenty-two years afterwards. In 1754, as in 1776, Franklin's convention made Philadelphia the capital because it could be reached from all parts of the country in twenty days. Franklin's confederacy was self-preservative against the French and Indians, and he lived to see his idea of colonial union for liberty and independence adopted by the Continental Congress, he being one of its most conspicuous members.

England and France had been at war for more than two hundred years. Religious animosities had embittered

racial differences. The American colonists had an inherited distrust and enmity for the French. The wonder at French achievement is enhanced when we remember that she is not a colonizing nation and that she occupied and held Canada and two-thirds of what is now the United States for nearly a century against an enemy at least twenty times more numerous.

The situation of the colonies was intolerable. The mother country was indifferent and action must be taken at once. Governor Dinwiddie dispatched Colonel George Washington, already distinguished for courage and discretion, though only twenty-two years of age, at the head of a small force of Virginians to capture Fort du Quesne. They came in contact with a French outpost and Washington, carrying a musket, fired the first shot. He thus in 1754 began the war which ended in 1763 by the loss to the French of all their American possessions. The farmers' shot at Lexington which echoed around the world has long been the inspiration of patriotism and the theme of eloquence, but it is an interesting question whether without the gun of Washington in the Virginia wilderness, the battle of Lexington would ever have been fought. The French, who vastly outnumbered the Colonials, surrounded them and compelled their capitulation. On the 4th of July, 1754, Washington and the remnant of his little band, retraining their arms and accoutrements, marched out of their entrenchments and returned to their homes. The 4th of July marks the only day on which in thirty years of warfare the Father of his Country ever surrendered, and also the anniversary of the Independence of his Country which was mainly achieved by his wisdom and valor.

The mother country had now become fully aroused to the crisis and sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regulars, veterans of European wars. The Colonial Governors met him and planned the famous campaign of 1755.

Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, was to complete the conquest of that Province.

General Braddock was to capture Fort du Quesne and regain the Ohio Valley.

Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to win Fort Niagara and cut off communications with the Ohio and Mississippi.

Sir William Johnson, of New York, was to seize Crown Point and expel the French from the region of Lakes George and Champlain.

"Fort du Quesne can detain me only three or four days," said Braddock gayly to Governor Shirley as the Governors separated, "and then I will join you at Niagara." But this gallant and headstrong soldier was never to see the wonders of the great water-fall. Contemtpuous of the advice of Washington and recklessly brave, he fell in the ambush which nearly annihilated his army. So complete and terrible was the disaster that Governor Shirley, who had advanced as far as Oswego, hastily retreated to Boston. Johnson had thirty-four hundred New York and New England troops, the latter under command of General Phineas Lyman, and camped between the Upper Hudson and Lake George. General Dieskau, the French commander, sailed up Lake Champlain with fourteen hundred men, attacked and routed a thousand of Johnson's troops who were marching to the relief of Fort Edward and then, with desperate courage and inferior force, attempted to stampede Johnson's main army in their camp. Johnson was wounded early in the engagement and was succeeded in command by General Lyman. After a stubborn contest the French were driven from the field. Dieskau, fighting valiantly, was wounded and taken prisoner. Although Johnson was victorious in this battle and the French retired to Crown Point the campaign was disastrous, inasmuch as the French were not driven away from the region of Lake George and Lake Champlain.

The campaigns of 1756 and 1757 on the part of the English were fatal and farcical. The British and Colonial forces outnumbered the French four to one, but were under the command of General Loudon, one of those phenomenal, incompetent and blundering blockheads whom favor and

seniority advance occasionally to the highest positions. He was before Louisburg with twelve thousand regulars and sixteen war vessels, while the French had only four thousand available. Instead of assaulting and capturing the fortress, as he easily could have done, he planted vast fields of onions to keep off the scurvy and then hastily retreated to New York, and there in a causeless panic proposed to fortify Long Island so as to be secure from the terrible French after they had won the city. In the meantime the French became masters of the whole Champlain and Lake George country, destroyed Oswego, made Ticonderoga and Crown Point well-nigh impregnable, compelled the surrender of Fort William Henry, and drove the English out of the valley of the Ohio. France closed the campaign in possession of the most magnificent colonial domain ever held by any nation. It was many times greater on the North American Continent than the combined possessions there of England and Spain.

The situation was dramatic. Both empire and the destinies of mankind were at stake. France at that period represented all that was despotic and reactionary, while the English people on both sides of the Atlantic had Magna Charta, the bill of rights and representative government. Arbitrary kings and cabinets might check but could not stop the onflowing and rising tide of civil and religious liberty. There were in the English colonies nearly two millions of people, who claimed the continent but could not venture over a few hundred miles from the Atlantic Coast. While the French, with a population of about one hundred thousand, by a most skillful and tactical system of forts and outposts held possession of eighty per cent. of the country.

As in all grave crises in history, the occasion called for a leader. There were several among the Colonials who afterwards became distinguished in the War of the Revolution. But the home government feared to give freedom to such activities. Every movement and policy was controlled from London, and through the royal governors of the provinces. They refused to Washington and the

Colonial officers any recognition in rank in the army. General Loudon was an example of the possibilities of defeat to the most righteous cause supported by an enthusiastic people and with overwhelming superiority in numbers and equipment under an incompetent commander.

A handful of masterful men have directed the destinies of mankind and shaped the course of history.

After years of blundering, stupidity and pig-headedness, Pitt, the great commoner, became Prime Minister and laid the foundation of modern England. The first faculty of a statesman is the quick appreciation of character and equipment which unerringly selects the men best fitted for the task assigned them. Pitt, undismayed by disasters and defeats, grasped the situation. He saw that the forces for victory were available, dismissed the failures and fools, secured a grant from Parliament of sixty millions of dollars for the campaign, proclaimed that he would not be satisfied unless every foot of soil held by France in America had been captured, and then selected Generals Abercrombie, Amherst, Howe and Wolfe to command the armies. Fifty thousand men, more than two-thirds of them colonial volunteers, were placed in the field. The plan of campaign was to attack with overwhelming force the widely separated strongholds of the French. General Amherst captured Louisburg and Prince Edwards Island with a vast amount of military stores. Forbes with nine thousand marched against Fort du Quesne. The advance was defeated, but on the approach of the Colonials, commanded by Washington, the garrison fired the Fort and fled down the Ohio. The victorious army raised the British flag over the ruins of Fort du Quesne and named the site Pittsburgh in honor of the great Minister. Thus did England's most enlightened and far-sighted statesman receive significant immortality in the New World, consolidated under one government by his genius, in having the gateway of the west and the centre of the productive wealth and manufacturing enterprise of the country bear his name. Sir William Johnson reduced Fort Niagara and cut off communication between

Canada and the Mississippi and Ohio. These victories were won with little effort. It was the crushing process of superior numbers admirably led. But around Lake George and over these wooded hills and valleys the fighting was desperate and the struggle fierce. The fortunes of France were in the hands of Montcalm, one of the most brilliant soldiers of the age, but with only four thousand men to do battle against the encircling hosts of the enemy. He hurled fifteen thousand from the ramparts of Ticonderoga, inflicting upon the assaulting party a loss of nineteen hundred and sixteen, and compelled their retreat after a few hours' battle. But he saw the hopelessness of the contest when in all Canada he could count on only seven thousand against fifty thousand, flushed with victory, gathering from the smoking ruins of Forts du Quesne, Niagara and Frontenac for the finish from Lake Champlain and Lake George to the St. Lawrence and Quebec. He sent a despairing cry to the French Ministry: "Peace, Peace; no matter what the boundaries!" But the French King vacillated and Pitt was relentless. So when Amherst in the next campaign had conquered Lake Champlain and its territory, Montcalm abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point and concentrated all his forces for the protection of Quebec.

This Colonial war, which lasted to within two years of the length of the struggle of the Revolution, and whose issues were so tremendous, occupies only a few chapters in American and scarcely a page in European history. It is remembered in school books and popular recollection mainly by the heroism and death of Wolfe and Montcalm. It was marked by savage conflicts, Indian massacres, numberless deeds of valor, and countless episodes of marvellous adventure; but, in all great wars and civic contests time obliterates and eliminates until one name typifies the era and its outcome. Most of the actors and events are forgotten, save to the student or the antiquary, except William Pitt and General James Wolfe, and the incident of Washington's heroism and hairbreadth escapes on Braddock's bloody field. Pitt and Wolfe have fitting mem-

orials among England's mighty dead in Westminster Abbey, while Washington lives in the hearts of his countrymen.

The fight on the Plains of Abraham after the scaling of the heights in the rear of Quebec by Wolfe and his army was one of the decisive battles of history. Romance, eloquence and poetry have given it memory and lustre beyond many of the greatest and bloodiest battles of the past. Though the numbers engaged were insignificant, few, if any, conflicts have been followed by such far-reaching results, affecting the destinies of nations and the liberties of mankind.

Wolfe fell mortally wounded. "They run! they run!" shouted his companions. "Who run?" "The French are flying everywhere," was the reply. "Do they run already?" "Yes," was their answer. "Then," said Wolfe, "I die happy," and fell back into the arms of his friends. At the same moment Montcalm, who had been wherever the fight was thickest and peril greatest, was stricken down. "Shall I survive?" he asked the surgeon. "But a few hours at most," was the sorrowful reply. "So much the better," said the French hero, "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec."

The war which began with Washington's musket fire on the 26th of May, 1754, ended with the fall of Quebec the 17th of September, 1759. It continued on the ocean for three years longer and then, in 1763, its issues were settled by the Treaty of Peace of Paris. In that treaty France surrendered to England all her possessions in North America except Louisiana, and that territory she was forced to give to Spain. The vast and fertile area now comprised in twenty-four of the most populous and prosperous states of the American Republic and the whole of Canada were lost forever to France and her people.

The benefits of this war to the American people cannot be overestimated. It was the school of the revolution. It accustomed the Colonies to act in concert where they had common interests. It brought their public men into familiar intercourse and established that strongest of ties among the people of the country, the comradeship of sol-



diers in the camp, the march and battle. Washington and most of the commanders in the Continental army were trained during these five years by the ablest generals of Great Britain. In recurring recruitment by the expiration of terms of enlistment a large proportion of the able-bodied youths of the various colonies had large and valuable experience in the art of war. They served with veterans of European campaigns and under famous generals of the Old World, and they fought soldiers of France who had seen service on many a Continental battlefield. This horizontal view dissipated their dread of regulars, gave them confidence in themselves and a feeling of superiority for fighting in a new and undeveloped country.

The strength as well as the rights of the people of the colonies was demonstrated. The struggle stimulated a keen and widespread discussion of the relations of the colonies to the mother country, of their equal right with Englishmen at home in every guarantee of freedom and representation and also a large and illuminating discussion of the fundamental principles of liberty, which were philosophical toys among men of genius in France, but produced a tremendous impression upon the colonists.

If England and France had come to an agreement over their home disputes and then in a rough and ready way partitioned these far-away and poorly appreciated provinces, the fate of our forefathers might have been sealed. They could not have contended against Great Britain on the Atlantic, and this vigilant, aggressive and grasping enemy north of the headwaters of the Hudson and west of the Alleghanies. The clock marking the progress of American development in institutions and resources would never have struck the jubilant hours of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The harsh conditions of the treaty of Paris left France not only bereft of her magnificent empire in North America, but humiliated and vindictive. The tragic tale of the heartless outrage on the Arcadians gave fury to the passions of King and nobles which was shared by the army and

navy and in peasants' cottages in every nook and corner of France.

They had no animosity against the Colonials. It was all for England. They impatiently waited for the time to strike. French monarchy, Bourbon and despotic, had no sympathy with the lofty aspirations of the American people for liberty upon the foundation of the charter framed in the cabin of the Mayflower and voiced in the burning phrases of the Declaration of Independence. But when we had demonstrated that with some assistance success would be assured, the French government saw that the hour of retribution and revenge had come. In making an alliance with the struggling, almost despairing, young Republic and sending fleets and armies to our aid, the King and his cabinet entered upon the most popular war in the history of his house; to wrest from England those lost and bitterly lamented provinces and to build up a new power against her upon the soil taken from France under such profoundly mortifying conditions, made the contest a holy war. The motive of the Government detracts in no measure from the gallantry of La Fayette and our gratitude to him. He and others opened the eyes of their country, but this youth of twenty could have accomplished little at Versailles, had he not been able by his rank and position to secure a hearing and so arrest the frivolities of the Court and voice the feelings of his countrymen by showing that the hour had come.

The fruits of the exasperation over the Treaty of Paris were gathered by us again nearly a half century later. Napoleon had regained Louisiana from Spain by the gift to a Bourbon Prince of the bauble of a toy kingdom. He saw that with Great Britain's command of the sea it might be captured by her navy. To prevent her from securing this vast territory, the control of the mouth of the Mississippi and a dominating influence in the Western Hemisphere became part of his plan. He had inherited the national shame and resentment of 1763. To our commissioners who were endeavoring to make terms for the free navigation of the Mississippi, his answer was

quick and peremptory. "You can have the whole territory." This splendid domain, which made possible our Western development, consolidated our Union and gave us so much of the wealth, power and happiness which we enjoy is a legacy of the war to whose Colonial heroes we here to-day dedicate this monument.



**At the Installation of John Huston Finley as  
President of the College of the City of  
New York, at Carnegie Hall, New  
York, September 29, 1903.**

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

There is no more interesting ceremony in the history of a college than the inauguration of a new president. It confirms the growth of the past and opens a new era. The new president has behind him the able executives who have been distinguished each in his own way. But preserving all that is best, it is his own individuality which must build from these foundations according to the life and lights of his time.

It is within the recollection of living men when the belief was well-nigh universal that a liberal education was necessary only for the professions of law, theology and medicine. If the electorate of the United States had been canvassed sixty years ago, they would have voted that for mercantile pursuits, for agriculture, for manufacturing or the vocations of the artisan, the modest equipment of the common school of the period was quite sufficient. In our own day, one of the most successful of the business men of our own or any country, emphatically proclaims his belief that a liberal education not only retards but cripples the career of the business man. The theory was, and with its advocates now is, that the youth who leaves school early to enter trade or the counting house will be so far advanced when his brother from the college arrives, that the collegian can never catch up, nor will he be able to grasp in a practical way the details necessary for success. The roll of the Alumni of the College of the City of New York with the story of their lives is the best answer to this pessimist. I have never met a graduate who regretted his liberal education or the time spent in acquiring

it. I have known most of the men who during the past forty years have been distinguished for eminent success in business, and the constant lament of all, who had possessed no early advantages in the schools, was the lack of that education which they hoped to give their children.

We rightfully boast of the achievements of the nineteenth century. It was an era of progress and development, unequalled in the past and almost the despair of the future. Its triumphs have been mainly upon material lines, and yet it has wrought happily for human liberty and for civilization. The only element for the uplifting of the people, which has not kept pace with progress during that time is education. There was splendor and inspiration in the centennials celebrated by some of the oldest universities of the world. Several of these venerable seats of learning traced their origin back into the dark ages, and all of them had many centuries of existence. More remarkable than their years was their conservatism. The age of steam, electricity and invention had made no impression upon their requirements, equipment or curriculum. Their graduates, with substantially the same preparation which made them when they entered upon the activities of life centuries ago the wonder of the world, go forth now to wonder at the world. We have done better in our old colleges and universities. We have recognized that the domain of liberal learning has vastly expanded. It is no longer possessed and governed only by the lawyer, the priest and the doctor. In the scientific, technological, agricultural, mining and manual training schools attached to the universities, we have recognized the needs of our time. But a liberal education is still to be found only in institutions which are supported by their endowments and tuition fees from the students. Contributions of wealth to liberal education have been liberal and remarkable, but they have been necessarily expended in buildings, laboratories, machinery, grounds for new departments and new professorships. The student has still much to do to pay his way.

The duty of the State to educate its people has long been recognized, but under many limitations. For the

first quarter of our country's existence the old red school house, open for three months in the year and teaching only reading, writing, grammar, geography and arithmetic, was grudgingly supported and universally believed to accomplish all that the State should contribute to the schooling of its children. When the common school had enlarged its curriculum so as to develop the quicker and brighter minds and open to them the highways of learning, the high school came as a tentative and doubtful growth. Now the graduates of the high school are distinguished upon the bench, at the bar, in all the professions and in every business. The students from the high schools, with their present splendid preparation, enter the colleges with the same rank and examination as the boys who come from the time-honored preparatory academies.

We have witnessed within recent years the timely death of a useless and numerous body of our fellow citizens. They decried the equal education of girls with boys. They prophesied that the common schools with the large additions to their teachings would unfit the youth for the ordinary vocations of life and precipitate upon the community a band of idlers who would be above industries and unfitted for the professions. They exhausted the vocabulary of anguish and despair at the possible products of the highly organized and superbly equipped high schools. Such human brakes upon the wheels of progress undoubtedly served some useful purpose in the social economy. But, like the problem of the mosquito, we have not yet determined what it is.

Within a few weeks a distinguished British scientist has informed the people of England that unless the government takes a broader view of its responsibilities in education, the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country will steadily decline. He points out that the national schools in Germany are equipping young men for work both at home and abroad who are making such improvements in the factories and promoting so successfully in foreign countries the knowledge and sale of German products, that they are rapidly and surely supplanting the

British in the markets of the world. He advises that a vast sum of several hundred millions of dollars be immediately appropriated to train the youth of Great Britain for the salvation of her material and industrial interests. That broad-minded and enlightened statesman, Lord Roseberry, has been arousing Parliament and the people to activities on the same lines.

We have not yet reached a true conception of the relations between the people and the state. Every man and woman contributes to the welfare of the state according to his or her ability. It is the duty of the government to furnish the facilities for the equipment of the youth according to their needs and possibilities. It is the theory of our institutions that all men are equal before the law, and all are to have equal opportunities. So long as the state fails to furnish the means by which these equal opportunities can be obtained, we are imperfectly developed upon the lines of our foundation. With equality before the law and equal opportunity for the race of life and for careers, our theories are that each then will advance and acquire according to his ability. The poor man should be at no expense in the education of his children according to their several abilities. One may step earlier from the common school into trade or the work of the artisan. Another may feel himself fitted to enter a field for which only the highest school can equip him, while the third will do his best work in life for himself, his family, society and the state by a liberal education in college. As these three enter upon their activities each of them becomes a valuable member of the community in sustaining, strengthening and uplifting his country.

Plato's academy existed for nine hundred years and then the Emperor Justinian confiscated its endowment and closed its doors. This practical statesman who could see the necessity for codifying the laws could not understand that the philosophy and the humanities which were taught in the halls of Plato's venerable foundation served any useful purpose. Had he been wiser and broader, the calamities and tragedies of the dark ages might possibly have been averted.



The beginning of the twentieth century presents to us new problems. Every period has them. Their solution is always viewed with doubt and alarm. Because the intelligence, wisdom and virtue of the time were not equal to its requirements, the world was plunged into the anarchy, savagery and ignorance of the dark ages. Because of a more universal education and higher and broader intelligence the infinitely greater difficulties and newer and more untried situations of the nineteenth century have been admirably adjusted to our political, industrial and social life, notwithstanding the terrific and unprecedented pace of progress. Competition, intensified by the instantaneous communication by cable and telegraph and the quick transportation possible with steam, is the force which is driving our industries into gigantic combinations and our labor into counteracting organizations. A distinguished body of lawyers recently proposed to meet this situation by taxing out of existence these great combinations, thereby leaving neither employment for their capital nor work for labor, and in the paralysis of industries and in the idleness of workingmen, securing perfect peace—the peace of Warsaw. If steam and electricity, with their influence not only upon material but upon educational and spiritual life, had been known to Sir Thomas Moore, he never would have written his “Utopia.” The student of capitalization learns that the laws of trade adjust values and they cannot be arbitrarily created or maintained. The most remarkable corporation ever created, in the volume of its bonds and stocks, and the one which has excited the most discussion and probably the most fear, has within the past three months had the value of its securities reduced in the open market by the gigantic sum of \$400,000,000. The knife of the legislator would never have cut so deeply in so brief a time.

The question which most concerns a nation like the United States, existing by popular suffrage and the will of the people, is the maintenance of peaceful relations between capital and labor, with the difference in material conditions of individuals which always comes where there is the free play of capabilities for work and administration. Arbitration, which is the happiest method yet devised, requires edu-

cated intelligence. The more highly cultivated the understanding and the broader the grasp of the leaders, the better will they understand each other and the quicker come together. As human nature is constituted, the world is always in need of leaders. Even heaven has its angels and arch-angels. If armies were dissolved and all became privates by universal consent the most capable would be put again in command, upon principles of safety and self-preservation. If on the deck of the battleship the admiral, the captain, the lieutenants, the chief engineer and every head of department should surrender their functions, again the instinct of self-preservation would put the leaders in their old places. If the property of any community was arbitrarily distributed equally among all its members, and free play left to their activities, the same masterful men who had acquired it would own it again within a short time. There is no royal road to wealth or competence. The shiftless, the idle, the lazy and the vicious are our burdens. But the industrious, sober, thrifty, virtuous and ambitious are the nation's hope. To give them every opportunity to cultivate and strengthen the gifts of nature is the highest duty of the state and yields the best dividends for law, order and civilization. No power can stop the onward and upward march of these when thoroughly equipped—a march not measured by money, but by influence and position in their communities, church, party and organization. "Captains of industry" and industrial captains are built upon the same plan. It is the quality which makes a Cæsar or a Napoleon or a Washington in the lesser degree of requirement and responsibility as the world subdivides into states, counties, towns and separate communities, or into political parties, armies, navies and industries. The need of our time is educated leadership.

This, for the City of New York, is the people's college. Here buildings, lecture rooms, laboratories, workshops, books, apparatus of every kind and tuition are free. Here are to be educated the political, the professional, commercial, educational and industrial leaders of the future. According to the extent of the facilities of this college, the loftiness of its purpose and the practicability of its instruc-

tion, will be the impress which its students will make upon the life of the city, as the body of the alumni increases in number. The value of liberal learning, to those who are capable of receiving it, cannot be estimated. The German government appointed seven of its ablest professors and teachers to decide whether a purely practical education, or the broadening of minds and disciplining of the intellect which come from classical learning would best promote the purely utilitarian side of a career. They took the eminently practical German way of patiently examining for years the students from the classical and those from the practical schools who enter technical departments for specialized work. They found, without exception, that the more liberal training and better intellectual equipment of the classical student enabled him soon to outstrip in every department of work the man who was trained only on that side of his faculties.

Independent of what may be acquired in the lecture and class rooms from the professor and the library, are the ideals of the university. Their impress is felt upon the student all through his life. In the older colleges the heredity of a long life of distinguished alumni is in itself a liberal education. In this people's college of the City of New York is another inheritance. The ancestry of this institution is the origin and growth, the material prosperity, the municipal government and the educational facilities and the instrumentalities and religion which work for the uplifting of mankind of its 250 years of organized life. The student of Yale or Harvard or Columbia or of Princeton will ever do his best to promote the interests of his alma mater. It will be the lesson as well as the duty of the student of the College of the City of New York—of this people's college—endowed, maintained and sustained by this great metropolis, destined to be the foremost city of the world, to repay the debt—the inextinguishable debt—which he owes to the college, by giving himself unselfishly and courageously to the good government of this mighty municipality and to all causes which will tend to make its citizens better, happier and more prosperous.



## Letter Congratulating Senator Platt upon His Marriage.

New York, October 7, 1903.

My dear Platt:

You have done the right thing. I speak from knowledge. It is the prevalent idea that in the evening of life, when friends are dropping away, and interests narrowing, a man should flock by himself. These croakers practically preach that youth is the period for companionship and age for solitude. There is no period when home and domestic bliss are so necessary to preserve youth and its realities and illusions as when one has passed sixty. Cheerfulness and not cheerlessness is the secret of happy longevity, and susceptibility to surroundings increases with the years.

Cordial congratulations and long, healthy and joyful lives for you both, is the hearty wish of Mrs. Depew and myself.

Faithfully yours,

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,

HON. T. C. PLATT,  
*New York City.*



## At the Opening of the New Club House of the Republican Club of the City of New York, October 15, 1903.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—The opening of this club house is an auspicious event, not only for this organization, but for the Republican party in the city, state and nation. All roads lead to New York. Here the state and national committees have their home. Most of the trade and industrial organizations are represented here in permanent headquarters. The need of a home for Republicans in this city, so equipped that its hospitality would be equal to the entertainment and the comfort of active members of the party from all over the United States, has long been felt. That home has at last been secured. There is not anywhere a political club house which possesses in size, in appointments, in conveniences and in up-to-dateness what this house offers to its members and guests.

As our population increases every aspiration in religious, philanthropic, educational and political affairs, every measure, every business, requires associated effort for success. This is nowhere felt so much as in party work. Men of every profession, business and trade have a common purpose in the success of the party in whose principles they believe. But there is no opportunity for them to become acquainted, to meet and to work together except under auspices like this. There must be the acquaintanceship which comes from the sort of family relationship existing in a club. There must be the confidences which can only be had perfectly in the honor which presides in communications, "under the rose," in the familiar and friendly conversations within the walls of the club house. The state and national committees, from their rooms at hotels and offices, can find here not only seclusion and privacy, but the opportunities to meet party leaders for necessary campaign

work and the formulation of plans for the benefit of the party which can be had nowhere else. This club is destined, under proper management, to become an important factor in municipal, state and national affairs. That its useful purposes may not be thwarted or impaired certain rigid rules must be adopted and adhered to. It must always be remembered that the club is the home of the party, not of a faction in the party nor the partisans of a party leader. It gives everything to its members which can be had at the best appointed of social clubs. But its object and purpose are far beyond what can be had in social organizations. Its spirit and effort are and ought to be to keep alive Republican enthusiasm, to promote Republican principles, advocate Republican measures and educate the people into the understanding of and belief in the ideas and purposes of the party.

In other countries where they have representative government there are high politics all the year round. Orators are always upon the platform, and the clubs are constantly sending out their manifestoes and their pamphlets. We have little of that popular discussion which means public political education except in our national campaigns every four years. But party success, and with it the best interests of the country, as we believe, are secured only by stated preaching all the year round.

There always will be factions in great parties. It is essential to harmony in the club that the partisans of all factions shall be its members, but they must leave their differences and disputes at the door. The moment the club takes part in internal wrangles of the party its usefulness is gone and its future is ruined. In its public capacity and general meetings it must never be a caucus. The ambition of candidates for office must not be either promoted or discouraged by its action. It exists, first, to educate by pamphlets and resolutions and then to support what the great conventions of the party have solemnly decreed. It can have great influence upon the decision of these conventions when it is known that its efforts in behalf of the ticket, its moral, its intellectual and its financial



support will be governed by the excellence of the candidates who are presented, as well as the annunciation of principles.

This club has done magnificent work in the past. Its influence has been felt for reform in our city. It was an agency of distinct force in the campaign which gave to New York Mayor Low and the admirable city government elected two years ago. Publications which have emanated from its political committee and been adopted at its meetings have found their way upon the desks of members of the legislature, of the house of representatives and of the senate, have received wide publication in the press and had a happy influence upon the country. The force of an argument is not only in the felicity of its expression and presentation, but in the power and authority behind the utterance. It was said of Daniel Webster at the height of his marvelous influence upon the country that every word of his great orations in the senate weighed twelve pounds. As our greatest orator and statesman never used less than 10,000 words in any of his important addresses, it will thus be seen that his ideas were sent through the senate and over the country by a mental locomotive of sixty-ton brain power.

The effect of a position which a political club takes is enormously enhanced by its heredity, its strength and its distinction. The Republican club was fortunate in the year of its birth. It came out of the throes of the resumption of specie payments in 1879. We are accustomed to look upon the results of the civil war as virtually creating a new republic. It was a new republic with slavery eliminated and the principles of the Declaration of Independence standing in letter and spirit for what they expressed where its utterances had before been denied both in letter and spirit. But the reunited republic was partly the government of an industrial people. For years after the war every interest was in peril or ruined by wild speculation or disastrous panics. The results of the civil war, glorious as they were, remained unstable and insecure until the commercial life of the nation was made safer by the resumption of specie payments in 1879. With the triumph

of this great achievement of the genius of John Sherman this club came into existence. It was a happy beginning. It has actively engaged since that time in every campaign in the city and state and in the presidential contests of 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1896 and 1900. Significant and splendid as was the financial victory of 1879 for the resumption of specie payments, our industries were still disturbed, our farmers unable to rely upon the stability of the markets, our manufacturers at fault in forecasting the future and our labor uncertain of employment or rewards. The energies of our people, our undeveloped resources and our indomitable courage overcame almost insurmountable difficulties. But, though our industries were growing and prosperous, they suffered from frequent disasters which were the results of a financial system still inequitable and false. No organization worked harder or more intelligently for right principles of finance during all these years than the Republican club. It was never deluded by silver and never led astray by fiat money. Consistently and persistently its public utterances were for sound money and the gold standard. It was not able to accomplish as much as if it had been settled in a home like this, but every influence was effective which spoke for the right during those trying times when the ablest men were frightened into compromise.

Now, happily, we have been enjoying since the election of President McKinley in 1896 the results of these two peaceful victories of the resumption of specie payments and the gold standard. The future historian will be at a loss for words to fitly portray what has come to the country from these bloodless revolutions. Our progress from 1897 to 1903 in industrial expansion, in the development of our resources, in the creation of wealth, in the enlargement of employment, in the advance in wages and in everything which counts for the prosperity, happiness and power of a great country cannot be estimated.

An eminent author has written a book whose conclusions, which are usually accepted, are that the fifteen battles he describes were decisive of the fate of empires and the

course of civilization. They portray hecatombs of dead, hundreds of thousands wounded, devastated countries and frightful sufferings of millions of people. But life and health given to our credit by sound currency and a stable standard of values have enlarged cities, founded manufacturing centers, built homes, expanded the opportunities for education in universities, colleges and schools, raised our country to a place in the front rank among nations, in commerce and finance as well as in military and naval strength, and endowed the people of the United States with better conditions for the present and more hopeful prospects for the future than the world has ever known before.

Our duty as a club and as a party is with the future. No organization could so happily say, because of having done so much to make it so, the past indeed is secure, as the Republican party, but our work is with the future. Vigilance and fight are the necessities of good government, the success of right principles and the enactment into law of beneficent measures.

May the Republican club, entering upon its new life in this its splendid home, speak with greater power and authority year by year for honest administration in municipal government upon nonpartisan lines where necessary; for the continuance of such administration in our state government as has come with Republican governors and Republican legislatures and never more successfully than with Governor Odell, and for the continued predominance of those principles which, beginning with Lincoln, received their most brilliant illustration in McKinley and are worthily represented and enforced by Theodore Roosevelt.



**At the Annual Dinner of the Young Men's Bible  
Class of the Fifth Avenue Baptist  
Church, New York City (Mr. John  
D. Rockefeller, Jr., Leader),  
December 8, 1903.**

**GENTLEMEN :**

It gives me great pleasure to meet you here to-night. Yours is the most famous and the most talked about of Bible classes. There have been classes for the study of the Bible since the publication of the book of Genesis. I have no doubt there are more circles in the Christian world who are united in their several churches or localities for this purpose than are engaged in any other research or pursuit. In this age of association and combination, if some master mind with a supreme talent for organization should create the machinery by which the Bible classes of the world could act in concert the imagination can hardly grasp its influence. In this world everything works for good or evil, everything moves up or down. There is no place where an individual or an idea can stand still. Every study must be measured by its informing and expanding power. There have been many criticisms about the study of the Bible, but I never heard one which clearly defined any harm which could come from it. If no harm, then the results are necessarily good. I read recently an article by a very eminent man of letters who declared that while the Bible in earlier and more primitive days was read for spiritual guidance that now it is studied mainly for its literary style and with a cold, calculating and critical eye as to its historical accuracy. It is safe to say that if this practice ever prevails there will be no more Bible classes. It is the uplifting power, the inspiration, the consolation and the comfort which the Bible gives when read with the eye of faith which makes possible a continuance in the growth of

Bible reading and study. The necessity for the class is often illustrated by the ignorance on this subject of well-informed and able men. Listening, as I do, to so many speeches, I often hear phrases of Shakespeare ascribed to the sacred book and quotations of the Bible assigned to Shakespeare. I remember many years ago the governor of one of our states in an ambitious proclamation appointing Thanksgiving day, speaking of the abundant harvests, remarked that, "in the sublime and beautiful language of sacred writ, 'Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer.'" It is said that within the course of a few weeks he was unable to enter the executive chamber because of the number of Bibles which had been sent to him from all parts of the country.

Your organization, however, has become famous because you have invited discussion upon every subject which would interest young men and stimulate and encourage them in their careers. You have not confined your inquiries to the fields of the clergyman, but have requested men of letters and of law, of politics and of travel to speak upon the subjects with which they are familiar.

There are many and well-worn maxims and axioms delivered to youth which are as familiar to them as to the sage who speaks. We sometimes, however, can find valuable suggestions if we will stray into bypaths aside from these broad highways of light and truth. "Be honest" is good enough advice, but there is a phase of honesty little thought of. It is not difficult for young men who have been properly brought up, who have had the advantages of home and schools and churches, to faithfully administer a trust or to keep from stealing. Honesty reaches further than accountability to others. It is more an acquired habit than a natural faculty. No one can attain to true standards who is not honest with himself. Lincoln said, "You can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." Growth is retarded, a stand-still is reached and degeneracy begins when we try to fool ourselves. A client of mine, a man of wealth and generous purposes, retired

from business and settled in the village of his birth. The town was poor, and its roads were bad. At a public meeting it was decided that it would bring population, manufacture and trade if the streets could be improved and the approaches to the depot made more sightly. The limitations of the village charter prohibited the expenditure desired. My client said: "I will advance the money and trust to your securing an amendment to the charter from the legislature for my repayment. I want to do all I can to aid you in putting this village in the attractive condition which its situation calls for." The work was done, and the results more than justified the expenditure. The village rang with praises for his generosity and public spirit. The amendment to the charter passed the legislature, and the question of the appropriations to repay this liberal-minded gentleman was submitted to a popular vote at the next election. Nearly every voter was a taxpayer. The appropriation was defeated ten to one in the secret ballot, and my client lost his money. Of the 1,000 voters the 900 who voted against this payment were in their ordinary dealings with their fellow men, where a ledger account was kept, scrupulously honest. Most of them were church members and in their domestic relations and in their private life lived up to the standards of their faith. They were accountable for their act only to their consciences, as no one else knew their vote. They had called upon their friend in a public meeting to advance the money, and if they had answered publicly to a roll call would all have shouted to return him the loan. In voting secretly against paying they evidently manufactured a justification which fooled their consciences; nevertheless the justification was dishonest, the act was dishonest, and if they had, before saying their prayers, squarely faced their own conduct and sat as a jury upon their own act the verdict would have been that they were thieves.

When the question was acute after our civil war whether we should pay the creditors of the nation, whose loans had enabled us to save the government, in gold or in a depreciated currency, which meant the repudiation of half of the debt, statesmen of the highest distinction, newspapers of the

widest circulation and public speakers of the greatest eloquence and reputation gave splendid reasons why this form of repudiation was honest. It required several campaigns of education and instruction before the country placed itself by emphatic majorities upon a high plane of public honesty. If every one of these distinguished statesmen, orators and writers had been intelligently educated in the Bible class upon fundamental principles, the party of repudiation would never have had advocates who could persuade themselves that their attitude was honest. But there are more subtle methods than these of undermining character by dishonesty, a dishonesty where the practitioner fools himself into the belief that there are occasions where the end justifies the means. The Machiavelian policy in diplomacy is the science of lying for one's country, but I doubt if a great nation or a small one was ever benefited by a liar. Practical politics are permeated with the idea that success is largely dependent upon pretending that you do not want what you are seeking and that you are friendly to the aspirant whom you are knifing. Men of the purest character who would scorn to be untruthful or dishonest in business are reckoned superior politicians because of their skill on these lines. If their honesty was built upon Bible teachings, they would be incapable of this method of self-delusion and paralysis of conscience.

Every age has had its standards to which have been attracted ambitious youth. The knight errant of the middle ages and the Crusaders are brilliant examples. The Puritans in the Mayflower in what they sought and found rise to loftier heights than the knight errant and the Crusader. They came not to kill with the sword, but to make alive with civil and religious liberty. We, who are enjoying the political and material results of their sacrifices, have constructed a new ideal. Some call it prosperity, others success, but there is danger to all the youth of the country becoming its worshippers. The blind pursuit of this cult destroys spirituality, narrows the intellectual horizon, numbs the study and pursuit of the humanities and con-



concentrates every faculty and energy upon the accumulation of money.

We must cultivate a larger horizon. We must learn that success has other meanings than great wealth. There will always be men phenomenally gifted with a talent for accumulation. It is useless for those who have not like faculties and judgment to compete for the prize of being considered among the possessors of the largest fortunes in the world. Unless a man narrows his work and ambitions to the one object of an enormous fortune and succeeds before he dies in being reckoned among the few who are the world's largest holders of its wealth he has failed in his efforts. Simply as a rich man and nothing else he is of less account in proportion to the number of his fellow citizens who have more than he possesses. The \$1,000,000 man has no rank or place or consideration in the \$10,000,000 class, and the \$10,000,000 chap is a little fellow in the \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000 circle. But every one who has secured a modest independence is a success; the rest is accumulation. A home which is owned, be it ever so humble, is independence. An income which will enable one to live within that home is a larger independence. It is a wise use of time and mind, of industry and talent, to become as far as possible independent of the world and provide for those who may be left behind, but it is supreme folly to attempt to rival and reach great fortunes and sacrifice all the pleasures of life and all its opportunities in the many directions open for enjoyment, culture and education for that purpose. There are 80,000,000 of people in the United States, of whom probably 10,000 are millionaires, but there is no country in the world where happiness is so widely distributed, where there are so many comfortable homes and cultured people. There are many ideals of success and prosperity, and every one, in some measure, is equipped to pursue them.

I met at the house of one of the richest men of the world several years since that most brilliant and attractive statesman of our period, James G. Blaine. When Blaine left, the host said, "There goes the biggest fool I know." I

asked, "Why?" He said: "Instead of giving his time and mind to business, where he might accumulate a fortune, he is devoting the whole of his talent to be a Member of Congress, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, United States Senator, a party leader and possibly President of the United States. What do they amount to anyway?" I said to him: "My friend, your faculties are of the kind which have made you one of the richest men of the world. With or without your money you could not be President of the United States, nor Secretary of State, nor Speaker of the House of Representatives, nor leader of one of the great parties of the country. If Mr. Blaine should live a thousand years he could not accumulate your fortune. Your distinction is that you have got what he cannot acquire. His distinction is that he has what you can never reach." We must remember that this would be a ghastly world if there were not many standards of distinction. Webster, Clay and Calhoun present ideals of success; so do Lincoln and McKinley; so do Beecher, Storrs, Channing and Theodore Parker; so do Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison; so do Greeley, Weed and Bennett; so do Irving, Longfellow and Hawthorne; so do the explorers who have discovered new countries for over-crowded populations, the inventors who have added immensely to the sum of human comfort and happiness and eminent workers in philanthropy. We may not reach their heights and attain their fame, but we can find education, growth and hourly increasing pleasure in camping on their trails. Happy the man who beyond the work which furnishes him with subsistence and independence has the industry and initiative to pursue the lines which interest him, who can become friends with the authorities on those subjects in his library, who can make the authors of the past and present his familiars, who in some pursuit for which he has special talents can improve a leisure which will give to him that which makes millionaires, statesmen, generals, authors, journalists, inventors, men of affairs, a sense of superiority both honorable and gratifying and the sweet enjoyment of the incense of power.

**At the Jumel Mansion, December 28, 1903, on  
the Occasion of Its Acquisition by  
the City of New York.**

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :**

New York is the second city in the world. It is distinguished for its bigness. In population, commerce, accumulated wealth, industries and financial power, it stands next to London, and in some of these respects surpasses that metropolis. It holds the front rank in its educational system, the number of students in its universities, colleges and schools and in its charities. It is unique as compared with all cities of the old world, both great and small, that it has preserved but few monuments of historic interest. The delight of the traveller who intelligently visits other lands, is contact with the architectural remains of former times. The history of the ages becomes in these castles, palaces, statues and fortresses, vividly realistic. These old towns are all rich in well preserved structures which illustrate the story of their origin and development. At almost every street and square are found chapters in stone of deep historic interest. But this metropolis, towering so magnificently above them all, has in its possession little besides Fraunce's Tavern, St. Paul's church and this recently purchased Jumel Mansion. But the treasured relics of the older civilizations and settlements are mostly reminders of tragedies. The coliseum speaks of barbarous gladiatorial battles and the martyrdom of Christian saints. The terrible stories of human sufferings and of the sacrifice of human rights are found among the ruins of the forum and the Acropolis, as well as in the Tower and the Tuilleries. But our three monuments, though hallowed by so little antiquity, though insignificant in their architecture and dimensions, are suggestive of

everything brightest and most hopeful in the story of civil and religious liberty. They are full of inspiration as reminders of the heroes and statesmen whose achievements created this Republic and advanced the world in human rights more than had been done in all preceding centuries. It was in St. Paul's that the early patriots of colonial times and Washington, when President, worshipped. Fraunce's tavern witnessed the assemblage of the solid men of New York who organized the Sons of Liberty and prepared for the Revolution. There also occurred the pathetic and memorable farewell of Washington to the officers of his army. The story of this Jumel Mansion is the romance and history of many interesting periods in our national life.

It is singularly true that only in recent years have we valued and cherished and preserved by State aid the relics of our past history. The revival of patriotic spirit by voluntary colonial and revolutionary societies has done much to arouse a general interest in scenic and historic places. We all remember the years of struggle and anxiety before the American women, aided by the eloquence of Edward Everett, could raise the fund for the purchase of Mount Vernon. We know now that, but for this effort, the nation would have lost all the educational and inspiring influences of the home of Washington. Congress, State Legislatures and municipal authorities permitted the destruction of many priceless treasures because, until the Civil War was ended, there was always a doubt as to the perpetuity of the Republic. The best men of each generation believed the Union could not endure half free and half slave and they saw no end of the conflict except in two Confederacies. It is since the Civil War, and almost within the last decade, that there has been this lively interest for the preservation of the land-marks of patriotism. This feeling was recently happily illustrated by an Irish Mayor, prohibiting the blue bloods of Boston from exhibiting in Faneuil Hall their Plymouth Rock hens.

We often express our regret that we were not able to meet the great men of former generations. The imagination

pictures the fascination of listening to their narration of their deeds and stories of their compatriots. But great men rarely and all too briefly talk of their achievements. We have had in our own time characters who will grow greater with the centuries, and many of us have known them well. Grant rarely spoke of his battles or his career, nor did Lincoln or Sherman or Sheridan. They leave out of their books the personal detail, criticisms and characterizations for which succeeding generations hunger. Washington was reticent upon subjects which are of absorbing interest to posterity. It is a Boswell who keeps the diary and enlightens the future. The conditions of greatness are so isolated that it is only at St. Helena where a Boswell is possible. But here in this Mansion and grounds we have a place which talks eloquently and all the world can listen. It speaks of and portrays picturesquely colonial and revolutionary characters and incidents and the story of American life, from the colonial period down to our own day. The spirit of intense loyalty to Great Britain once permeated its halls and rooms. Colonel Roger Morris, who had been wounded while with Braddock's army in the fatal fight at Fort Duquesne, and won distinction with Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham in the conquest of Quebec, dispensed here for many years elegant hospitality. The officers of the British garrison, the governor of the province, the magistrates of the city, the leading citizens and their wives and daughters, were all charmingly entertained. The customs and gallantries of the eighteenth century were as well exhibited here as in the great houses of London and Paris. Romance and history have moved together about these grounds. The wife of Col. Morris was that Mary Philipse, who won the heart of Washington and rejected his suit. On his way to Boston, and again on his return, the gallant Virginian met defeat at the hands of this fair New Yorker. Washington, though invincible in war and peace, was singularly unsuccessful in affairs of the heart. When the Revolution broke out Col. Morris, as a retired officer of the British army and the son of an English baronet, espoused the royal cause. At the close of the war he went with his family to Great Britain and was never permitted to return. This

estate which had come through the fortune of his wife was confiscated. While Washington was President he recorded in his diary that with the Vice President, some members of his Cabinet and their ladies, on returning from a visit to Fort Washington, they dined at this house, which was then a hotel, and he mentions that it was the confiscated property of Col. Morris. Possibly his early affair with Mary Philipse was in the great chieftain's mind when he penned this minute. We can only wonder what were the emotions of Mrs. Morris when she recalled the past and the present. She was living at that hour in England in comparative obscurity and poverty, while the Virginia Colonel and planter, who seemed to her so lacking in the graces and gallantries of the British officers, who were courting, and one of whom married her, was then the foremost man in the world—the father of his country, and the subject of eulogies and admiration among British statesmen and writers.

The old house which was closed by the flight of its owners, was re-opened by General Washington as his headquarters immediately after the disastrous battle of Long Island. It was while the British were throwing up a line of entrenchments a short distance below, at 94th Street, that from this piazza at 160th Street, he was watching the enemy and preparing for the battle which was imminent. Here he gave audience to Nathan Hale prior to the self-sacrificing and fatal mission of that gallant youth. In this brief period, history once more becomes romance. Two young men of about the same age, were constant visitors. Aaron Burr was serving as Washington's secretary, and Alexander Hamilton, by his skill in command of a battery of artillery and building of earth-works, had won the attention of the commander. They were both about twenty years of age and the long battle between them began here, ending in the duel which was virtually the assassination of Hamilton by Burr twenty-eight years afterwards. It was here that Washington conceived a distrust and dislike of Burr, which grew in intensity, and that confidence in Hamilton, which became greater every day of his life. Burr remained

in this position a few months only. With him as private secretary and confidant, the story of Washington's career might have been very different. He was the most fascinating as well as the most unscrupulous man of the period, with the brains of a Machiavelli and the principles of Talleyrand. Hamilton, on the other hand, was the incarnation of loyalty, truth and honor, and possessed unequalled constructive abilities for government. He had not only creative power but the talent to convince others by the resistless strength and lucidity of his logic.

Washington was compelled to retreat to Westchester, because of the danger of a flank movement, which would prevent his crossing the Harlem River. The defeat at White Plains was really a drawn battle. Washington retired to Northcastle and the Highland Hills, and the British returned to New York. The old house tells of an adventure which might have changed the whole course of the Revolution. Washington, with General Greene, General Putnam, General Mercer and others, came here on a reconnoissance to see what the British were doing with their intrenchments below. Upon this piazza at that moment were gathered almost all there was of the military brains and experience of the army of the young revolution, for this was in 1776. Fifteen minutes after Washington had left for the Hudson River to return to Fort Lee, the house was occupied by a detachment of British and Hessians. In that quarter of an hour were suspended the destinies of the American Republic.

From the fall of 1776 until the evacuation of New York by the British Army at the close of the war in 1783, this house was the center of plots and counter plots, of campaigns planned and carried out, and campaigns abandoned, on the part of the English commanders. There was a revival of its hospitality and brilliant entertainments. A gay array of uniforms and colonial beauties could be seen often dancing to the music of the military bands or strolling about these grounds. With the departure of the British and the confiscation of the property, came dark days for the Mansion. It was a farmer's home and a hotel, and

under long litigation in the efforts of Mrs. Morris to regain it as a part of her patrimony when she was Mary Philipse. John Jacob Astor had the courage to purchase her claim for a hundred thousand dollars, a sum, at that time, sufficient to make her comparatively wealthy on the other side. After varying fortunes, it became, in 1810, the property of Stephen Jumel. Jumel was a French coffee planter in Santo Domingo, who had escaped the massacre and settled in New York, where he became a very successful merchant. His American wife was famed for her beauty and wit. She had a genius for social life, and revived all the early glories of the place. She was more than a woman of fashion, and she made her house the favorite gathering place of art and letters, of law and distinction of every kind, in the early part of the nineteenth century. She had a daring ambition and with her husband's fortune, and her own great abilities and beauty, had overcome the difficulties of a very humble and doubtful origin. When Napoleon was dethroned, the Jumels offered him a home for life. This young and handsome American matron had secured a position at court and an acquaintance with the great emperor, where she could safely make such a stupendous proposition. New York, however, was too far from France for the exile of Elba to plan his triumphant return, which ended at Waterloo, and he declined. After the fall of Napoleon this remarkable woman began gathering relics of the Empire for her home in New York. In this she displayed the same extraordinary ability which had marked her rise and career. Chairs which Napoleon had when first Consul, the clock from his room in the Tuilleries, tapestry and paintings which were once Josephine's, the bedstead upon which Napoleon had slept, his army chest, and the trunk which was used by him on the march to Moscow, embroideries valued as the gifts of Josephine to the Emperor in happy days, and other mementos connected with the domestic and public life of her hero, filled her parlors and drawing rooms. When Louis Napoleon arrived here as an exile, he was received by Madam Jumel as an honored guest. She furnished him with money and undoubtedly with her soaring and ambitious



spirit encouraged him for the adventure which afterwards was so signally successful. Madam Jumel was a widow of fifty-seven, but still possessed of great beauty and charm, when she fell under the spell of the fascination of Aaron Burr. He had become a wanderer upon the face of the earth after the duel with Hamilton. He had organized and almost succeeded in establishing an independent republic in the southwest, and barely escaped conviction for treason. He had returned to New York almost forgotten, but his great abilities as a lawyer secured him a living practice. Though seventy-eight years of age he was still almost hypnotically attractive to women. He stands alone among American historical characters for a long life of illicit amours and intrigues. A matter of business led to his call at the Jumel mansion, and Madam Jumel was immediately impressed by his courtly ways and skill in compliments. She invited him to a dinner, giving him the position of honor and he won her admiration by his attention and the remark, "Madam, I give you my hand, my heart has long been yours." She refused his offer of marriage, but Burr knew women as well as he did law. The next time he came he brought with him a clergyman, and after much indignation at his presumption and impudence and many protests that she would never consent, she finally left the room to her aged lover and his clerical companion. When she appeared again, it was in all the splendor of a gown fit for a bride. Burr instantly grasped the situation, and standing with her before the clergyman the ceremony was performed in the room where nearly three-score years before he had served as secretary to Washington. During his long and stormy life, Colonel Burr had suffered many vicissitudes. He had often been in extreme poverty and was now in financial straits. His friends and admirers thought that entering upon eighty, as he was, having won the affections of this rich and accomplished woman, and secure in a position of elegance and comfort for the rest of his life, he would be content. But his restless spirit was bound by no limitations of age. The wealth of his wife aroused that appetite for daring speculation which had re-

peatedly been his unmaking. He abused her confidence, lost a portion of her fortune, and she summarily dismissed him within a year. He died three years afterwards in loneliness and poverty at Port Richmond, Staten Island. Madam Jumel survived him for nearly thirty years, during which time she was always a conspicuous figure in our city life by her charities, her hospitalities and the celebrities at home and from abroad whom she entertained. She visited Paris and received marked attention from Louis Napoleon and other members of the Bonaparte family. She died in 1865.

Nowhere else in our city can be found such concentration of history and romance as here. There are few structures in existence in our country whose rooms have echoed to the voices of so many people of eminence. The older we grow, and the more distant are the scenes of our beginning as a nation, the more precious are the places and things which recall the sacrifices and the principles of the men and the deeds of the Revolution.

This estate becomes to-day the property of the citizens of New York. It will be a place of pilgrimage, not only for our children and our children's children, but for visitors from all over the country. More than school books or history, more than biographies or lectures, it will tell the story and teach the lesson of the colonial struggle against the usurpations of the ministers of the crown, of Washington and the continental army, of Hamilton and constitutional liberty, of the formation of the republic and its first president. The great city will extend far and wide, it will increase in wealth, majesty and power; its public buildings and its palaces, its avenues and its parks, its warehouses and its wharves will grow greater in number, appointments and splendor, but one of its choicest jewels, forever maintained in its original simplicity, to inspire patriotism, good citizenship, culture and democratic spirit, will be this modest mansion of our early days.

## At the Annual Dinner of the Brethren of the Amen Corner, at New York, January 27, 1904.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—Except in the municipality of the City of New York, and under the auspices of the brethren of the Amen Corner, a gathering like this would be impossible. We are here of all shades of opinion and politics to congratulate the Mayor and to wish him God speed. Many of us did our best to prevent his achieving the honor, and with equal heartiness, we now congratulate him upon his success. We know that if he gives the city a popular government, it will be unfortunate for our party, and so while we express unlimited confidence in him, we have an abiding faith in the limitations which will be drawn about him. The charming personality of the Mayor, his open-mindedness and courtesy to opponents, won him an enviable popularity in the House of Representatives. It made him easily the best candidate Tammany could have selected.

But in saying “amen” with the Amens to-night, we of our house do not give it a scriptural significance. The “amen” of scripture means either thankfulness because what we wanted has come to pass, or of hope that we will gain all we petition for. But the “amen” of the brethren of the Amen Corner only means that we cheerfully accept what we cannot help, and give no pledges for the future. This original organization should do something other than the usual. It is a common practice to compliment, by feast and flowers, the lucky man who is “it.” The belle does not need more bouquets; she is overwhelmed already with flowers and candy. But I should like to attend a dinner given to the “has beens,” not only to the few who acknowledge the situation, but also to those whose time everybody, except themselves, understands has passed. It

would be an interesting collection of vitalized mummies, and under the inspiration, electricity and ozone of the night, they would all think they had returned to life, and possibly, like salt injected into the vein, this stimulation might revivify some of them.

History runs in parallels. It loves to repeat itself. A hundred years ago DeWitt Clinton resigned from the Senate of the United States to become Mayor of New York. It was because the mayoralty of this city was a greater honor than a United States senatorship. That is not so now. A century elapses, almost to a year, and Colonel McClellan resigns from the House of Representatives to become Mayor of New York. It is because the mayoralty of this great city is a bigger place than membership of the House of Representatives. Such is its consideration, not only at home, but also abroad. Mr. Gladstone once said to me, "I met recently a most interesting, informed and able countryman of yours." There were about twenty Congressmen in London, and I said, "Was he a Member of Congress?" "Oh, no," he said, "he held a much more important place, he was Mayor of New York, Abraham S. Hewitt." Mr. Hewitt had been a member of Congress as well as Mayor of New York. He was one of the most useful and distinguished as well as one of the most promising Mayors the city ever had, but a politician stands upon slippery places. He lost the stake he had been a life time attaining, on the question of raising or hauling down a flag on the City Hall. The lesson may be a useful one to our young Mayor in his political aspirations, and endorses the old motto upon the four gates of the ancient city. Upon the first was "be bold," upon the second, "be bold," upon the third, "be bold" and upon the fourth, "be not too bold."

A Mayor must not be too confident of himself. I had occasion frequently to visit Mr. Havemeyer while he presided over the destinies of this town. I always found him alone in his office. He said to me one day, pointing to the crowds hurrying up and down Broadway and through the Park, "You see those people rushing to and from their

business out yonder? None of them ever come in here to see me, none of them ever even look this way. It is because they know the old Dutchman is taking care of their interests, and so they can be absorbed in their own affairs without having any anxiety about the City." He thought that this would lead to a re-election with substantial unanimity. His name was not mentioned by either party, and he dropped out of sight with a sickening thud. Which is another lesson that the Mayor should keep himself, his office and his applaudable deeds constantly before the public. More than that he should be looking out for his own chances. The great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, wrote for the guidance of the younger members of his profession for future generations the famous couplet,

Six hours to sleep, to laws grave study, six,  
Four spend in prayer, the rest on nature fix.

Of course I would not limit the hours that our Mayor spends in prayer. But in a great city like this he cannot give eight hours to nature. The parks do not furnish sufficient opportunities and the streets afford none. But he can follow the old lawyer's advice by a pursuit to which at least eight hours a day should be given out of regard for his future, a calling which can be practiced both in the country and in the city, and that is, building and mending his fences.

The first few months of a Mayor's term are given to protestations on his part of a public life of reform, and to advice from everybody. Unlike most public men who give forth fervid utterances that they will be good, the city believes Colonel McClellan means it. He cannot follow all the advice. It is too contradictory. He is informed that those mayors succeed themselves and go to higher places who take the public daily into their confidence and then he remembers Low. He is told that safety lies only in silence, and then he recalls Van Wyck. The best thing for any man in public life, in my judgment, is to be himself. The public knows him better than he thinks and while he might fool himself, he cannot fool the people.

There is a great future for the Mayor of this greatest

city of the western hemisphere and the second greatest city of the world, if he is equal to the occasion. Presidencies, vice-presidencies and governorships, all are before him. The Mayor of New York is on trial always before the whole country and our city government is the object lesson which furnishes the editorial and the political campaign speech. Now if the Colonel can convince Dr. Parkhurst that the town is shut tight at the same time that the east side knows that it is wide open, if he can satisfy Jerome that the rattle of chips is no longer heard in Manhattan or the Bronx, and at the same time sees to it that the sporting voter has latch keys to doors which the police do not know, the Mayor's future will be brilliant.

We all have read the prediction of a very eloquent and powerful preacher, made after election, that commencing with the first of January, New York would be "hell with the lid off." I am not a theologian, but I have always supposed that the only way in which hell could be purified was to lift the lid, on the principle so successful now, which cures consumption by open air and sunshine, that the rays of the great luminary of the day penetrating the infernal regions and the air of heaven circulating through them, while the ventilation carries off heat, sulphur and smells, ought to produce conditions where pleasures are accentuated and pain is relieved.

Of all the choice bits of wisdom in the form of advice which the Mayor has received none certainly would be more potent to him than that which came from the only President the Democratic Party has had in forty years, the Sage of Princeton. It was in a communication to a banquet, which has become historic, in an epistle which will be known down the ages as the letter of "vexatious indisposition." In that letter Mr. Cleveland informs the Mayor that the success of the Democratic party in the Presidential campaign of this year depends entirely upon the kind of government which he gives the City of New York. I wondered when I read that letter of more or less cordial sympathy with the festive crowd to whom it was addressed whether there could not be detected between the lines a

personal anxiety as to the effect of the government of the City upon the fortunes of the Democratic party in the country. For we have a great poetic authority which says that, "saying she would ne'er consent—consented."

However, my friends, this gathering to-night illustrates a phase of political life which exists scarcely anywhere under free government, except in the United States. It is the comaraderie of politics. It illustrates the friendship and the good fellowship of those who do their best for their candidates and their party because they think them the best for the country, the state and the city, and yet who do not permit the passions of the conflict to impair personal relations. On the contrary, the political leader or candidate who discovers in his opponent a foeman worthy of his best efforts, a foeman who fights open-handedly and squarely, when the battle clouds roll away and peace comes, as a rule finds no better or truer friend than the man with whom he fought. So we heré to-night, staunch enemies and loyal friends, under the broad and charitable banner of the Brethren of the Amen Corner, pledge health, long life and prosperity to Mayor George B. McClellan.





**At the Eighteenth Annual Lincoln Dinner of the  
Republican Club, of the City of New York,  
February 12, 1904.**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

Who of any nation have contributed most to its stability, greatness and power, has always been a favorite theme for historians and orators. In older countries the warrior stands pre-eminent. Agreement becomes almost impossible because the judgment is clouded by party passions. A distinguished writer named fifteen battles as decisive of the course of the history of nations. But these decisions are based largely on the success of arbitrary power or the loss or gain of territorial domain. There can be no consensus of opinion as to the makers of modern Great Britain, France, Germany or any of the great powers of the world.

Our situation is entirely different. No part of our history is obscured by age. There are those now living who have heard at first or second hand the story of our origin and growth and been part of it themselves. This occasion which commemorates the memory of one of the undisputed builders of the Republic, is an eminently proper one for our investigation. All peoples are hero worshippers. The man and the hour are the essentials of every great event. The time may be indefinitely postponed for the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the people, until a man arises who is capable of accomplishing the result. The leaders of the world whose influence has been felt down the centuries, and whose genius in laws and institutions still lives, can be numbered on the fingers of one's hand. We celebrate the birthdays of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Grant. I do not think that we have here the real builders of our institutions. We admit the wonderful

part that they all played in the drama of our national life, but our development has been so brief and yet so logical, that it is easy to follow its evolution. Each crisis has developed the leader who carried the country forward to victory.

During the Revolutionary War there were conspiracies against Washington in which many eminent and patriotic men participated. It is now universally admitted that any change to any other general would have been followed by disaster, and that the death of Washington would have resulted in the defeat of the cause of the patriots. We therefore call him the Father of his Country, because he so eminently deserves the title. When the victory was won, the young Republic was rapidly drifting into anarchy under the loose union of the Articles of Confederation. It was Washington's appeal to his comrades in arms and to his old associates in civil life which brought together the convention which framed the Constitution. The jealousies between the States, the fears of the smaller ones and the demands of the larger would often have dissolved the convention and disrupted the country, except for the commanding influence of Washington, its presiding officer. The Constitution, marvellous as it seems to us, was a series of compromises upon general principles interpreted by Hamilton for a strong central government, and by Jefferson for State rights. Washington during his two terms saved the country on the one hand from a new conflict with Great Britain, which would have destroyed it, and an alliance with France, which would have been equally disastrous. When he retired to Mount Vernon to pass the remainder of his days in well-earned rest, he had won the independence of his country in war, had secured for it a written Constitution, and, as President, had put that Constitution for six years in successful operation as a charter of power and perpetuity in the central government. With the defeat of the Federalists and the election of Jefferson, the party which believed that all power not reserved to the States was given to the general government disappeared from control for sixty years, and the ideas of Jefferson came in with him and prevailed for sixty years that all

powers not granted to the government are reserved to the States. Eight-tenths of the best opinion of the United States believed that the States had the right to nullify the acts of the general government, and that there was no power in the nation to enforce its laws or decrees upon sovereign States or to prevent their retiring from the Union and forming separate governments.

The last act of John Adams before retiring from the Presidency was the appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of John Marshall, of Virginia. For thirty-four years this marvellous jurist was formulating and rendering a series of decisions so interpreting the Constitution as to create a workable and powerful government. In order to override or to neutralize him, successive Presidents of opposite faith appointed his political opponents as his associates, but, one after the other, they were won over by the will and the judgment of this master-mind. He came to the court when it had decided only about two hundred cases, and when he retired his decisions filled thirty volumes, and nearly one-half had been delivered by Marshall. The court was little understood, and there was not much reverence for it. Jefferson early saw where these decisions of the Supreme Court as to the power of the Federal Government were tending, and in a letter to President Madison denounced Marshall for the "rancorous hatred Judge Marshall bears to the government of his country, and for the cunning and sophistry within which he is able to enshroud himself." Andrew Jackson fought the court, because on the question of the national bank it would not yield to his arbitrary views and will. He said angrily, "John Marshall may make law, but he cannot enforce it." The controversy raged in Congress, the press and upon the platform as to the powers of the general government and the rights of the States, while the people kept returning in presidential election after presidential election the strict constructionists whose doctrines would have made secession a success. But unnoticed and almost unknown, except to the lawyers practicing in the court and to the Presidents who endeavored to defeat him, this mighty jurist was calmly laying the foun-

dations and building the structure of constitutional liberty into an indestructible Union. He brought Presidents, Cabinets and Congresses within the law as interpreted by his court. He rendered decisions upon the powers of the States in foreign commerce which gave the ocean to the national government. He drew the lines about State sovereignty in internal commerce, giving the national government the control of all navigable waters, which insured us that unrestricted internal trade which is neither bounded nor limited by the lines of the States. He made possible the canal, the railroad, the telegraph and the telephone, which bind us into one people. He gave to the Federal Government the power to raise armies and navies, to establish banks, to collect revenues, to enforce its decrees, and to be everything and possess everything which constitutes a self-perpetuating sovereignty. At the end of thirty-four years his work was completed. He had put into the letter of the Constitution the spirit of eternal life. He had welded the members of the Union beyond the possibility of their ever being separated. He had created a Constitution upon the lines and within the limits of the written charter, and without altering a word of it, so much broader and beneficent than the words of the convention, that the interpretation gave that immortal instrument the power which fought successfully the Civil War, expanded our territories north, south, east and west into continental dimensions, and carried us safely across the seas.

But all this was unknown to the people. There must be a popular evangelist for constitutional education. He arose in the person of the greatest orator, the largest brain and the most brilliant intelligence in our history—Daniel Webster. As Marshall had been educated by association with Washington and Hamilton, so Webster grew into a defender of the Union and the Constitution under the guidance of Marshall. He gave to us the patriotic and political literature which has become our American classic. In speeches in the Senate of unequalled power and upon the platform, Webster made plain to the people the Constitution as interpreted by Chief Justice Marshall. He found in those teachings the doctrines of free soil and the

principles of the Wilmot Proviso long before they had captured the country. He evolved out of Marshall's compendium the doctrine of the government of our territorial possessions by which we are enabled to rule Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines. The splendid literature of his speeches appealed to the colleges and was incorporated into the school books. More than a generation of American youth committed his patriotic addresses to memory, and delivered them from the stage of the academy and the school and in debating clubs. When he died, the forces of union and disunion were preparing for the inevitable battle. But Webster had educated more than half of his countrymen and countrywomen to a glorious maxim which was the embodiment of the thought of Washington and the judicial decisions of Marshall—"Union and liberty, one and inseparable, now and forever." Under this banner at the call of Lincoln over two millions of men sprang to arms. They had been educated by Webster in the faith of Marshall's interpretation of national unity and Webster's passionate devotion to the Union and the flag.

The stress of civil war demanded a President of unusual genius and equipment. None of the well-known statesmen at that period could have accomplished the work of Abraham Lincoln. His humble origin, his struggles and sacrifices to secure an education, his eloquence, always in touch with and of the fibre and thought of the plain people of the country, his exquisite humor for explanation or palliation or avoidance and the pathos welling up from a great heart which responded in sympathy to the universal sorrow, were elements never before united in one man. When the country despaired, he could give it hope. When death and disease had disabled the army, he could fill up the ranks. When revenge and the passions of civil strife would have kept alive for generations the bitterness of conflict, he could touch and enforce the lesson of brotherly love. From the Emancipation Proclamation to Appomattox he held the people, amidst all the sacrifices and discouragements of war, to the truth of his early declaration which had made him President, that, "I believe this Government cannot exist permanently half slave and half

free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.” When Lincoln fell by the hand of the assassin, the Constitution of Washington and of Marshall as interpreted by Daniel Webster for “Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever” had become the impregnable charter of the American people.

After nearly three quarters of a century of internal strife which retarded development and produced industrial and financial instability, the United States was a Union. It had unlimited resources and a people eager for their development. The problems of the future were the material ones of the employment of labor and capital and of foreign and domestic commerce. Whether every agency which could be devised by wise statesmanship should be at the service of the American people for their prosperity was the overwhelming question of the future. Happily the party and the statesmen who believed that development could only be rapid, beneficent and complete under the operations of the principle of the protection of American industries, held possession of the government for nearly a third of a century. Invention and immigration had stimulated our productive power beyond the capacity of our markets, great as they were. The expanding energies and necessities of the people were bursting continental bounds and looking for opportunities in competition with the great workshop nations of the world. Another crisis was upon us. The man was wanted whom the people could unanimously trust for war and who could command their confidence for construction. Almost in a day American isolation had ceased to exist. Uncle Sam was an invited guest at the table of the family of nations. Alien peoples had to be governed until laws could be enacted by presidential discretion, anarchy suppressed, brigandage subdued and government established in other climes and among other people. In the mean time the principle of the protection of American industries which had brought about this unprecedented development and marvelous pros-

perity must be held up high beyond assault before the American people. The one man above all others who possessed rare qualities of command and persuasion, of gentleness and firmness, of courage and charity to carry the country through triumphantly while these grave problems were being solved, was William McKinley.

So here, to-night, we pay tribute to the pillars of the Republic, to the builders of this structure of government, as we live in it and enjoy it to-day. These, our benefactors, were all of ourselves.

We can look for a moment upon their human side. Washington has been so obscured by a hundred years of veneration for his greatness, that we cannot pierce the veil. The rest of them were pre-eminently men of the people.

Marshall was a soldier, a Congressman, a cabinet officer, and a foreign ambassador. He gave himself both an education and the equipment of a lawyer and became the head of the bar of his State. He lived happily for sixty years with his wife; reading to her every night when at home, and when she died, he continued to read aloud to the opposite chair in which she was accustomed to sit. He would relieve the tedium of the solution of the complex problems of the Constitution by playing quoits. He always took a mint julep before the game, measured the distances between the arcs with a straw, and jumped into the air and clicked his heels together and shouted if he won.

Webster was also self-educated, and secured the means for prosecuting his studies by copying deeds in the clerk's office at twenty-five cents apiece; but when his equipment was complete, his transcendent ability carried him from the country to the city and almost at once to an unapproachable rank in his profession of the law. He was intensely human. He had foibles and weaknesses almost as great as his genius. He so won the admiration of his countrymen, that alone of our statesmen they called him "the god-like." But in his love of nature, his fondness for the field, his pursuit of game with gun and rod and quick sympathy for human rights, he won and held a place in the people's affection and esteem. Like Marshall, he also possessed

humor. Without imagination and humor no man can be great, and Webster had both.

Lincoln had learned to read after a hard day's work in the field by a pine knot in a frontier cabin. He had acquired his incomparable style from the Bible and writing essays with charcoal upon shingles, because of the meager equipment of the woodmen of those days. He was the story teller among the Presidents. Rough illustrations, derived from his early experience in frontier life, made the country laugh between its tears, while the point of the anecdote overwhelmed his enemies or enforced his argument.

McKinley we all knew. His presence at any gathering, cabinet, Congressional or popular, the club or the platform, the banquet hall or the friendly circle, melted animosities, inspired good nature, good fellowship and friendship. Every family in the country counted him a member, and the day rarely passed without the fireside echoing with loving expressions for McKinley. He, too, loved the lighter vein, to laugh with, but never at his friends.

Columbia can well say from the heights where she now dwells, "Behold! Washington, Marshall, Webster, Lincoln and McKinley, these are my jewels."



**At the Thirteenth Annual Banquet Given to  
Senator Depew by the Montauk Club,  
of Brooklyn in Celebration of His  
Birthday, April 23, 1904.**

MY FRIENDS: It is a happy omen that on this thirteenth anniversary in which I have enjoyed your hospitality in the celebration of my birthday, your greeting occurs not on the Saturday night nearest to, but on the Saturday evening of the event. In all the others but one we have had to conform to the club rule of its exercises being always on the evening of the last day of the week. Now, however, that Saturday and the 23d coincide, we can summon my distinguished associates who entered the world at this date, St. George and Shakespeare, and give them seats at our table.

"Three-score and ten" has been made so significant by sacred and profane writers that one is expected to utilize the day in recounting his blessings and confessing his sins. As you cannot remain in continued session for a week, I shall do neither. The Psalmist says, as we all know: "The days of our years are three-score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four-score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow." If we led Daniel's life we would have the same view, but happily we do not. I find no parallel in my condition to that of the story told by the Japanese Buddhist, who is the only writer who ever spent any time in the sacred, forbidden city of Lhasa. Pilgrims come there from all over the East on a sacred mission once in their lives. The writer says he heard a member of one of the robber tribes who was on his knees in front of the sacred image utter this prayer: "Oh, Lord Buddha, from the magnificent offering which I have made, I feel that I am forgiven for the murders I have committed, the property I have stolen and the wives of other men I have run

away with, but as I have done so well by you and have exhibited such a contrite and repentant spirit, I want to be forgiven now for the murders I shall hereafter commit, the robberies of which I shall hereafter be guilty and other men's wives I shall hereafter take from them."

The science of proper living, the benefits of temperance in all things and the healthful influence of a balanced mind from which all worries are expelled and few gain entrance, have become so common that seventy is now middle life. In every department from three-score and ten to four-score or later, is the harvest of trained and experienced labor. Bismarck said that Thiers, when near his eightieth year, prevented him from depriving France of one-third of her territory. The late pope Leo XIII did the work which gave him immortality in the last ten of the years of his pontificate, and he lived to be ninety-three. Gladstone became the "Grand Old Man" and won world wide distinction in the decade before his death at eighty-six. A coterie of elderly Senators, in conjunction with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is of their period, are the real rulers of our Republic. Roberts in his seventieth year conducted the South African campaign and retrieved as far as possible the blunders of the juniors, while in another sphere Commodore Vanderbilt, who up to the age of 71 had accumulated \$17,000,000, added to it ninety more from 71 to 83. So no one ambitious to be a millionaire need despair.

Experience teaches that the guide posts for a career are its disappointments, and the real blessings in life are its losses. I have hardly ever met with a successful man who has not confessed that a failure to accomplish what he most wished for and which seemed to be the end of his hopes, turned him into the path where he won his triumphs. I know in my own case that my greatest disappointments and severest blows have been the greatest blessings. Parents often suffer privations and hardships to educate their children. The investment is worth the effort, but the expense is a trifle compared with the sum which the man often pays later in life for the more useful

culture of experience. It is the losses which come from the too easy affixing of one's signature to the note of a friend, the giving of credit to assist a neighbor, the leg which so advertises its weakness that the promoter pulls it with success, which teach the lesson that enables a man to have a roof over his head, a competence for his old age and patrimony for his family. The athlete must train his muscles by the hardest discipline and have them tested by brutal "knock-outs" before he has any value for the team of which he is a member or the race where he hopes to win the prize. The same is true in the life-struggle of the young man who enters the world and battles for its rewards. But there is something to be attained by the right minded which is more than mere personal success. The citizen is not prepared in a republic for the public service by the government teaching him in the army or the navy or its civil employment. He cannot unload the responsibility for himself upon autocracy or imperial power. He owes to the state a healthy body, a sound mind and the right spirit. He owes to his country the indirect benefits of those best efforts, which can only come from stalwart character and the culture of all his gifts; for the work of the author, the journalist, the merchant, the farmer, the professional man, the artist, the artisan and the laborer are the active assets and the productive wealth of the country.

Soon after I was admitted to the bar, two men who were widely and favorably known took special interest in me and gave me this advice. One said, "Chauncey, attain honors. Money is nothing except for one's wants, and one's wants can be reduced to a very small sum." The other said, "Get money. There is nothing so disheartening and discouraging as the fear of poverty always impending if you lose your health or your place. There is nothing so full of strength, hope, health and happiness as wealth, which defies the assaults of your enemies or the weakness which comes from disease or old age." It occurred to me that no effort on my part could crown me with laurels which would not be of lesser size and more

subject to fading qualities than those of many other men. I thought also, that no matter how hard I struggled or pinched or starved or ran along the border line where things which are legal do not excuse those which are immoral, there would be so many richer that I would be in a much lower class. So from this came the determination to try to gather something of both. We all know that the best results, whether in matrimony or in business or the things which appeal to the palate and the taste, are to be found in the blend. Fruitful excursions into many fields, contact as far as possible with those who are eminent in their specialties, and the broadening and elevating influence of the study and pursuit of the things outside of your vocation which interest you, increase, according to the effort and opportunity, the pleasures of life.

I attended the commemorative dinner given to Chevreul, the famous French chemist, on his one-hundredth birthday, by the government and also the city of Paris. He said that he had spent his whole life in the factory of the Gobelin tapestries, that he never had aspired to any income beyond his salary nor needed anything more. He ascribed his longevity to the fact that being sure of his position so long as he might live, though it was a modest one, he never worried about finances, never had serious family troubles, never had touched tobacco or alcohol, had lived most temperately and drank the muddy waters of the Seine. Beside him was a gentleman who enjoyed the dinner to the utmost and was hilariously and rather uproariously proposing the health of everybody at the table. The old gentleman every little while would place his hand upon his neighbor and check his levity. I said to the officer who was my escort, "Why does Chevreul take so much interest in his lively neighbor?" He said, "Because he is his son. He differs from his father in having extracted from the world every possible pleasure, in having tried different pursuits, more or less successfully, and on occasions like this he gives his father considerable anxiety, because he loves too well the things which his father avoids." I said, "How old is this boy?" He answered, "Seventy-six." The boy had lived many more

years than his father. The question is, did he not get more out of life in his seventy-six years than his venerable parent did in a hundred?

It was my good fortune to have my first few years after leaving college in public life and then the courage to quit and enter upon and stick to my profession. A delegate to many conventions, annually stumping the state and country, a member of the legislature, Secretary of State and the possessor of a commission as a foreign minister before thirty, lifted me upon a plane where I could get a horizontal view of all our famous men since 1856, and form their acquaintance. It is a university education of the highest value for a young man to come in contact with those who have demonstrated their fitness for leadership by both winning and holding it. To have known, even in a slight way, Emerson, Holmes, Whittier, Saxe, Theodore Parker and other writers; and intimately, Woolsey, Porter, Dwight, Hadley, Olmstead and the older faculty of Yale; Phillips, Garrison, Trumbull, Ben Wade, Thaddeus Stevens and other anti-slavery orators and leaders; and then Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and nearly every corps and division commander of our armies in the Civil War; and Chase, Seward and all the statesmen of that time, together with personal contact and opportunity to see and know more or less confidentially all the Presidents from and including Lincoln, and added to this the privilege of contact and conversation with the leaders of thought and opinion and the rulers of many foreign countries, is to have enjoyed glorious opportunities, and accumulated assets of priceless value which no ill fortune can take away.

Many writers have published volumes on what are the pleasures of life. Their opinions are as varied as types of individual character. I have asked the question of many successful men when in their old age. One said, "seeing my pile grow." Another, "horses." Another, "cards." Another, "my library." Another, "my farm and flocks." Most men in middle life and younger are too much absorbed in their business to know of care. Among the most unalloyed pleasures are those enjoyed by the professors and

teachers of our great universities who are absorbed in their departments and their work. With them may be associated the archæologists who live in the classic past, and furnish funds for the work or dig themselves among the ruins of ancient civilization in search of statues, monuments and remains of famous temples and shrines. A find of a work of Praxiteles, or a papyrus scroll of Homer, or a tablet of historical interest gives them infinitely more and purer enjoyment than would the discovery of the buried treasures of Captain Kidd to the gold seeker. But I have known men in every walk of life who have found in some field, outside of their daily work, some congenial pursuit or study which has lifted them out of the sordidness of their toil into a dream-land of spirituality, poetry and pleasure.

I received a letter recently from an old friend, an eminent clergyman and writer, which was full of enthusiasm in the renewal of his life at Rome after forty years of absence and his delight in the discoveries made during that period in the Forum and about the Eternal City. I cannot help contrasting the degree of his intelligent and exquisite enjoyment in these classic treasures with that of the wife of a multi-millionaire, the life hobby of whose husband was money making, who said that the best thing she saw in Rome was the "statue of the wolf suckling Romeo and Juliet." But to anyone who has the gift of speech for the pulpit or the platform or the stage, nothing equals the sensation of applause or the incense of approbation from listening thousands. It is the insatiable craving for the greeting over the footlights which causes great artists in opera or drama to be forever making their last appearances, until happily for their own fame, and the benefit of their audiences, the grave makes them its own. Singular as it may appear, the most difficult audience in the country is the company gathered at a great dinner in New York, like that of the Chamber of Commerce, or of the New England Society. It is composed of men from every state in the United States and from abroad. They have survived the competitions where multitudes fail, and have risen by sheer ability and pluck to be successes in the

professions and business. They want argument in epigrams, statements in picture, with humor free from the dross of tedious descriptions, a story with the point rather suggested than made, and above all brevity. They distrust eloquence. I have seen many a great reputation go to pieces on these occasions, buried in the star-dust of the constellations which the orator had knocked from the heavens, or ruined by speaking too long, or lost in the last thirty minutes, though the man had won signal success in his first twenty. The most pronounced success, whether as a sage, a wit, a humorist or a philosopher in this field was the late William M. Evarts. A notable rise to fame in a single effort was made by Henry W. Grady at the New England dinner. The greatest orator on the platform I ever heard was Wendell Phillips. He is the only one whom I have known to turn audiences which come to mob him into applauding enthusiasts. At the banquet board, upon the political platform and in the pulpit, no one of our generation equalled in versatility and power the late Henry Ward Beecher, while for elegance of form and expression, for literary finish and elevated thought, Dr. Storrs, Bishop Phillips Brooks and Canon Farrar were wonderful.

I have spoken on the same platform with nearly every political speaker who has held the attention of the country during the last forty years. Most of them had but one speech, and their influence was more in their position and reputation than in the brilliancy or wisdom of their utterances. An old farmer once said to me, "Chauncey, Governor ——— can beat you to death. I have heard you both six times. He never has missed a word of the speech he first made, and you can't do it."

When the Civil War broke out and new issues had to be considered, the speakers whose sole topic had been slavery could not learn the new lesson, and were succeeded by younger men. The reconstruction period closed out many a war orator. The abstruse and scientific questions of currency and finance were so difficult, so new, so hard to make plain that they drove from the platform a large majority of our political speakers. I remember one of

the most prominent of them coming into the state committee room when the late President Arthur was chairman and throwing down his grip-bag, saying, "Arthur, there are those documents you gave me to get up a speech on the currency from. I have studied them three weeks. I cannot make head nor tail out of them, nor do I believe anybody can. I am going to arouse the people with my old-fashioned talk." The prince of orators in the political field was Robert G. Ingersoll, and very effective and impressive were Roscoe Conkling, Horace Greeley and Tom Corwin.

No change has been more remarkable in my time than that of the characteristics of the leading financiers. I became an attorney for Commodore Vanderbilt when a young man, and had business dealings with Daniel Drew, and frequently met George Law. These men were for more than a quarter of a century the prominent factors in finance whose operations were a wonder and whose movements everybody tried to follow. They had fought their way into leadership, especially Commodore Vanderbilt, without assistance or associates, by skill, far-sightedness and will power. They never confided in any one what they were going to do, never consulted about their plans, never gave any reasons for what they had done. Elaborate reports to the stockholders or to the press would have seemed to them the follies of a fool. Their successors of to-day are all in association with large numbers of strong men. Their work is the result of consultation with their associates and the best legal advice obtainable. They appeal to the public by prospectus, interview and report and conduct their business upon scientific principles of high finance which require education and long training. There has been no change in the speculator or plunger. Meteors are always the same. They illumine the sky, flash before the eye and explode.

I know the question with which you will interrupt is, "How large a part have luck and opportunity played in the lives of the men you have mentioned during the past fifty years?" Only this which is embodied in the lines from Shakespeare: "There is a tide in the affairs of men



which taken at the flood leads on to fortune, and we must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures." There is luck in the opportunity which comes to almost everyone once in a lifetime and to a few more than once. After that it is judgment. A famous financier remarked that there is no such thing as luck. He was asked if various changes which he had made in life when he had been switched off from the path he had marked out were not evidences of luck. He said: "No, every one of them was judgment." He was pressed as to whether large financial schemes into which he had entered and whose success was dependent upon almost the turn of the wheel in the critical periods of their exploitation, were not luck. "No, judgment." Then said his friend, "Won't you admit that you had mighty good luck to have such good judgment?"

Well, my friends, divide the world from the opening of recorded history down to to-day in half centuries. Study the events which were beneficial to humanity and for uplifting the peoples to higher planes of thought and living in each of them, and not one compares with the period of fifty years which, for our purposes, closes to-night. It has given to us unity of the world by belting the globe with lightning. It has promoted civilization along the lines of commerce by the steamship and the railroad. It has been rich in inventions, which have not only added enormously to wealth and comfort in all lands, but to the mitigation of disease and suffering and the prolonging of life. It has lifted sport from brutality to pursuits for the mind rather than the passions.

When I graduated and began the study of the law, bigotry prevailed all over the country on all controversial questions. Religious sects were more engrossed in fighting each other than the common enemy. There was an almost frantic fear lest science and research should impair the Bible and scientists were denounced as infidels. Not to drink was singular and not to accept a treat or to treat in return a breach of good manners. Naturally drunkenness, either in public or in private, was a forgivable weakness. Now the Bible student hails science and criticism as buttresses of the sacred book, and there is happy

and hopeful unity among the churches. Creeds have lost their power, but faith is firmer in higher thinking and broader speech. The progress of temperance has brought incalculable blessings to the home, society and citizenship.

Above all in value has been its contribution to emancipation. Laws have been liberalized, the press has been made free, the common school has become universal and colleges and universities give more liberal learning than ever before, not only to men but to women. Labor has been freed from restrictions and attained power and representation and slavery has been abolished. The spirit and achievement of this half century which we have been permitted to live in and enjoy can be expressed in one word—"liberty."

**At the Laying of the Corner Stone of Richmond  
Borough (Greater New York) Hall, at St.  
George, Staten Island, May 21, 1904.**

FELLOW CITIZENS: Two hundred and ninety five years ago the beauties of this island were revealed to European eyes. On the 11th of September, 1609, Hendrik Hudson, in the Half Moon, sailed up this Harbor. I doubt if any explorer was ever more impressed by the possibilities spread before him than the veteran navigator when, having passed Sandy Hook and the Lower Bay, he anchored opposite the spot where we now are. Having discovered that it was an island, he named it Staaten Eylandt, which means the island of the States of Holland, and we have Anglicized it into Staten Island. After their long and weary voyage, this lovely spot, which is at its best in September, must have appeared to these Dutch sailors a paradise. They thought they were placing the choicest jewel in the crown of their dearly loved native land.

Eleven years afterward the Mayflower sailed into Plymouth Harbor with the Pilgrim fathers. History, eloquence and poetry have ascribed to them and their settlements the largest share in the liberty and growth of the United States. But the Dutch, famed for their modesty, and never given to exploiting their deeds, had been for a decade engaged in commerce, trade and agriculture at this port, and enjoying themselves and granting to others that civil and religious liberty which existed at that period only in Holland.

In conceding to the Dutch full credit for their contributions to the institutions of our country, it is not necessary to depreciate the merit which belongs to the Pilgrim fathers. For more than one hundred and fifty years the Dutch settlers upon this island led the lives of the thrifty people from whom they sprang. This was pre-eminently

a settlement of homes where the virtues of religion, filial devotion, family affection, pure living and good citizenship were the habit of the people. They were out of the line of marching armies and contending hosts and suffered little, if at all, during the trying times of the Revolutionary War. They inherited the resentment of their ancestors because New York had been conquered by the English and transferred from the Hollandish to the British flag.

They contributed their quota to the Continental army, but during the long occupancy of New York City by the British, the farmers here, free from the raids which devastated Westchester, were traders in the ready market which the city offered. The British officers passed their leisure in hunting over these hills, where there was no enemy and plenty of game, while the crossroad inns were the scenes of many a brilliant revelry as the fair daughters of the island danced and flirted with their brilliantly uniformed partners.

A most interesting book could be written upon the trifling things which have changed the course of history. From the time when the cackling geese saved Rome down to our own day the course of empire has been staid or changed, the policies of governments altered and the loftiest stations filled because of events in themselves of little or no moment. Whether Staten Island should cast its destinies with New York or become a part of New Jersey was decided in a novel manner. The Duke of York, who had the authority, decreed that if a boat could sail around the island in twenty-four hours it should belong to New York, but if it took more time it should go to New Jersey.

A patriotic Staten Islander, Capt. Christopher Billop, in the Sloop Bentley, undertook to keep his home and friends connected with the larger destinies which were forecasted for the future Empire State. He accomplished the voyage within the allotted time, and Staten Island was joined to New York. It has ever since been the gateway of the continent. It has felt the influence of the great city's growth and the prestige of the greater State. It is to-day, as the result of gallant Captain Billop's successful navigation,

an independent borough of the second, and soon to be the first, city of the world. If he had failed in his enterprise this cornerstone would never have been laid, nor the structure destined for this spot ever erected. Under some other name the island would have become a county of New Jersey. Instead of the executive and imperial functions which we are celebrating here, it might be rent with factional strife for a place for one of its citizens on the State Board of New Jersey, whose functions are to fight the mosquito.

Everyone here and every inhabitant of Richmond county should be grateful to the Providence which filled the sails of the Bentley, to the designer who made her a model for future victories of American yachts, and to the captain who so skilfully sailed her upon the voyage, as important to the destinies of the people of this island as the race of Atalanta to her. When you begin to erect statues to your famous men and to those who deserved most of their country, upon your highest promontory in the chief place of honor should stand the figure of the savior of the island, Capt. Christopher Billop.

Staten Islanders have rarely strayed from home. They have been famous for clinging to this spot which they love so well, and, if circumstances have ever led them abroad, they return to pass here the evening of their lives. I have met Staten Islanders who have become successful in various walks of life, whom circumstances have compelled to live far away, and their tales and conversation were always reminiscent of the delights of the early days when they roamed over these hills, bathed in these surrounding waters and breathed this health-giving air.

One captain of industry, the foremost of his time, gave enduring fame to the possibilities of the Dutch training of this neighborhood. The wonderful material and industrial triumphs of a few Americans are a source of ceaseless wonder and speculation, but Commodore Vanderbilt as a boy indicated the qualities which were to make him a leader of men and a master of enterprises. His mother promised him \$100 if he would perform a certain task. He called

about him the boys of his own age and told them that if the work was done within the time he would have the funds to buy a boat and would give free rides to the city of New York.

They did the work, he did the managing, received the \$100 and bought the boat. How many trips he gave them history does not record, and they could hardly be reckoned among that numerous and most importunate class of to-day known as pass fiends. Here you see the germ of a captain of industry. His initiative, will power and talent for command made the lesser-gifted so work for him that with his prosperity and far-sighted grasp of the public necessities, his boat became a sloop and his sloop became a steamboat. Earlier than any he grasped the possibilities and the profits there were in transportation and the carrying trade. From the steamboat he went upon the ocean and soon had a fleet of steamships. Before any he saw that the railroad was to supersede in a large degree travel and commerce on the water, and he became the railway king of the United States.

While from this beginning and with rare talent he amassed the largest fortune at the time of his death possessed by anybody in the world, yet every dollar of it during his life was active in enterprises which increased the area and opportunities for employment, which opened for development new territories and which added proportionately to the wealth of people and communities, which, but for him, might have been long without the facilities supplied by his masterful business genius.

We cannot help, at this point of departure from old traditions, habits and government, wondering what would be their feelings if the graves in the old cemetery at New Dorp should give up their early occupants for our celebration, and these farmer and fisher fold of the ancient days, reincarnated, be permitted to join this assemblage. There would be nothing in the surroundings to remind them of the farms and forests where they passed happy days. In the distance would be the skyscrapers of the great city.

They could see the outlines of the Brooklyn Bridge, with its unequaled span crossing the East River. In the place

of the shallops of their time they would be amazed at the mighty steamships continually passing in and out of the port, the trolley car rushing by would frighten them, and the automobile with its speed and its odor would be to these primitive and pious folk the vehicle of the devil, and the chauffeur in his uniform and glasses, the evil one himself. From the wild, nerve-racking and brain-splitting strenuities of the present, these spirits would pray to be led away again into the peaceful graves at New Dorp to await the call of the great trumpet summoning them to a heaven where the whistle never screeches, the trolley never runs and the perils of the automobile are unknown. I remember as illustrating the mind of a former generation, that when an endowment was given to a church the donor wished it to be put in trust with one of our strong institutions and the income only allowed to the church. One of the trustees said to him: "If all this money is to be invested that way in a soulless corporation, where does the Lord get His share?"

But, friends, we are of to-day. We may not live in a better, but we do live in a larger and more important way in a month than did these ancestors of ours in a lifetime. The world of which they knew nothing, with its activities and enterprises, with its science and development, with its diplomacy and politics, with its battles and sieges, is spread before us like a panorama, morning and evening. We rejoice that we live in and are a part of the land which is the freest, the fullest of happy homes and presents the greatest possibilities for its people of any upon earth; but we are here to celebrate more particularly the political union of Staten Island with New York.

Public opinion was about equally divided at the time of the creation of the greater city as to its expediency, but to-day we are united in our pride and confidence in the metropolis. The attraction of gravitation is a law as inexorable, spiritually and industrially, as it is in its application to matter. Greater New York has aroused a civic pride which before was singularly lacking.

Our supremacy, commercially and financially; our su-

perior advantages for capital and labor, our leading place in manufactures, our population surpassing that of all cities of the world but one, draw to this center the wealth, genius, art, letters, scholarships and culture which are destined to make New York in every respect the foremost city of the world. This building is the principal sign that Staten Island is a part of this mighty and powerful whole. Your unequaled location will lead to growth and progress here as little dreamed of now as were the developments of to-day by your citizens of a hundred years ago.

A great city like New York is dependent upon good government. Its government will be just what its citizens want. There may be periods when it will degenerate and become inefficient or corrupt. But I think no one who has closely studied the question can doubt that there is a constantly rising intelligent patriotism and civic pride in this vast electorate. There is a population within the boundaries of New York larger than twelve States which have twenty-four seats in the United States Senate. It was a wise thought in the framers of the charter to put our government upon the federal idea. A trial of the federal system for over a hundred years in our republic has triumphantly vindicated the wisdom of our fathers.

While the power in the central government which they feared has increased beyond any idea even of Hamilton, yet the States and the functions they exercise have grown proportionately. The secret of successful government under this system is in giving in matters which pertain to localities the largest measure of home rule. State legislatures to-day deal with problems and properties far beyond those exercised by the federal government a half century ago. In great aggregations of populations where there is so little of the neighborhood and individual contact which made the township a power and a model, responsibility should be concentrated.

There ought to be greater authority given to the borough presidents in local appointments and the details of administration within borough limits. The neighborhood which elects the borough president and the people who know him



should be able to call him to account for bad government and reward him for good.

In a city so vast and growing so rapidly as New York there should be a concurrent growth of the federal idea and of home rule. Publicity and responsibility are our safety.

I congratulate you, fellow citizens, upon the auspicious event which made you part of Greater New York. I congratulate you upon this municipal building which is to be the center of your civic life and government. Of all the boroughs none has a greater promise for the future in everything which makes for the prosperity and happiness of a community than this Borough of Richmond.



**At the Meeting of the National Association of  
Flour Manufacturers, at Niagara Falls,  
June 9, 1904.**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: Your pursuit is one of the most practical and prosaic, and yet has originated more poetry than any other. Ballads and songs which have become the best part of the memories of poets, celebrate the beauty, kindness and innocence of the miller's daughter. She has inspired the muse of the most famous names in literature. There is something in the romantic location and associations of the old mill which strikes the fancy and stirs the imagination. It must necessarily be upon a water course, and the stream generally meanders among picturesque surroundings. Scenery and setting have placed the miller's daughter in more favorable light than her sisters, whose fathers are not so well located. The miller himself has received undue praise for the possession of virtues either more or better than his fellow citizens. The flour and meal which cover his clothes and hat and face are supposed to typify a condition of internal integrity belonging to no other mortals. It was this miller of the early day who, in a great case, enabled a great lawyer and a great judge to decide a question of treason on the shortest argument and briefest decision in history. This Pennsylvania miller followed his Quaker training and instincts, and harbored fugitive slaves on their way to Canada and freedom. He was arrested and placed on trial for his life under the fugitive slave law on the charge of waging war against the United States. The government presented voluminous testimony and the United States district attorney exhausted his eloquence. Thaddeus Stevens, who appeared for the miller, simply said, "I submit to the court whether it is possible for the miller without weapons other than the machinery of his mill, handling meal bags and

covered with flour, to be waging war against the United States." The miller was acquitted and ground grain and aided fugitive slaves until slavery was abolished.

But, gentlemen, few of you are that kind of a miller. I fear he has been largely lost in the great combinations incident to our times and necessary in the conditions of industries all over the world. You represent one of the great elements of American production and exportation. Every question which affects cost and markets at home or abroad comes close to you. The world wonders at the rapidity of American development, the variety of its industries, the volumes of its production, the extent of the home market and the distribution around the world. Two words lie at the base of this marvelous fabric—institutions and opportunity; institutions which rest upon the individual and not upon the mass, promoting independence and initiative, and which liberate and energize every faculty man possesses in a country of boundless resources in undeveloped wealth. Other lands have been equally blessed in fertile soils, navigable rivers, genial climates, mines and forests. All Latin America has possessed these and an equal number of years of settlement. There are parts of Asia where for ages empires have flourished and decayed which had our physical advantages. We have illustrated the benefits of free government; we have followed the brief charter, which originated in the cabin of the Mayflower, of just and equal laws, and we have escaped the paralysis of paternalism by the genius of individualism.

A more striking example than Mexico and South America, with the uncertainty of their governments, or of Asia, with none, is the Australian confederation. The hundred years of our greatest growth have also been the chief part of the period of their settlement and activities. Their area is larger than ours and they have every blessing of soil and climate. They have the same race and language and the same essentials of civil and religious liberty, a free press and free speech and universal suffrage. While we settled the spirit of our institutions at the beginning and our constitution has remained practically unchanged as originally written, they have been adopting new methods

year by year. We left man free to work out his own salvation according to his gifts and character, and the individual thus freed has experimented with marvelous success on farms and factories, mines, mills, furnaces and transportation, in schools and colleges, in every form of materialism and the highest results of education. The Australian commonwealth has been experimenting on how to make the government support its citizens. Railroads, telegraphs and public utilities of every kind are owned and operated by the government. The government puts its hand into the machinery of industrial operations and development. Governments naturally lack initiative. They supply existing needs, but do not create conditions which develop new countries and provide for increasing populations. The result is that while the United States in a hundred years with an area of 2,970,230 square miles (excluding Alaska) has a population of 80,000,000, imports and exports amounting to \$2,400,000,000, revenues of \$694,000,000, 200,000 miles of railways and an internal commerce of \$22,000,000,000, a commerce greater than that of the exports and imports of all the countries of the world, Australia, under experimental paternalism, in an area of 2,972,573 square miles, has a population of only 3,771,715, 12,000 miles of railways and in all that constitutes a great developing and advancing people is far behind the single State of New York. While in the United States, except in rare periods of panic, less than one per cent. of the wage earners are ever out of employment, it is the complaint of Australia that there is little occupation or opportunity for its young men.

Liberty and initiative have been the watchwords of American progress. With unprecedented development have come difficult problems, but happily each generation has successfully solved its own. The American people, impatient to work out as speedily as possible their continental destiny, have preferred stimulation to stagnation. They have built railroads far in advance of profits and awaited populations and development. They have built up industries through processes of trial and failure where the financiers have been veritably the martyrs whose blood was

the seed of prosperity. The great American desert of our youth is becoming the most fertile portion of the country through irrigation. The mirage which often led travelers astray and to their death is now the prosaic canal, turning alkali plains into farms from which are gathered several crops a year. Historical students derided the American experiment and claimed that it could never survive with crowded populations. They held that there must be a permanently trained and specially favored class of military leaders, otherwise the preservation of law and order and defense of the country would be inadequate. But the conduct of our citizens in trying emergencies, and our volunteer army, with men of thought and education carrying the musket and men from the ranks elected to command, have abundantly proved the fallacy of these predictions. Even Macaulay in his famous letter to the biographer of Jefferson, gave us less than a century to reach the position where, being without a strong government and standing army, hungry multitudes would produce anarchy. Our most difficult problem has been to compete with the highly organized industrial nations of the old world, with their cheap labor, and still keep the standard of American wages upon a scale which would enable workingmen to live as self respecting American citizens ought. We pay double the wages which prevail in these countries and yet are invading their markets.

Our school system, which not only invites but compels universal education, gives to every occupation superior intelligence, and our initiative genius has constantly improved the machinery of manufacture. Without machinery and the common school we never could have reached our present position or accomplished our industrial triumphs. With the needs of increasing populations there must be ever increasing production, and to maintain past and present conditions, ever widening markets. The conservatism of Great Britain and continental countries retains the obsolete machinery, while the enterprise and initiative of America throws away the new of yesterday if better has been produced today. The result is that the efficiency of the American workshop is two-thirds more than the German and

nearly twice that of the British. Our exports this year, both agricultural and manufacturing, are much greater than ever before in our history and the balance of trade in our favor is to add to the three billions which already stand to our credit upon the books. American diplomacy is winning gratifying triumphs in opening new doors for American enterprise and productions. Our dangers are wholly within ourselves. We have received the warning of experts in the east and in South America that we must change our methods if we would distance our competitors. The speculators in the necessities of life have done more to create competitors in foreign lands than all other agencies combined. They failed in corn because of its volume, but when they cornered wheat some years ago they produced a panic in Great Britain, which buys most of her food from abroad. The result was that British capital and enterprise went to Argentina, Canada, Russia, India and Egypt, to make Great Britain independent of the United States. Except for the wonderful increase in the demand of our home market the results would have been disastrous to the wheat growers and millers of the United States. The recent corner in cotton with its spectacular fortunes made and lost, shut down the mills and threw out of employment the workmen of Lancashire and New England, and now British capital and parliamentary commissions are exploring the possibilities of Africa and Asia for cotton independence from the United States. I know of no laws which can check this tendency. Patriotism will not prevent it. The capital and greed of a few men are so great that any product can be put temporarily up to such abnormal prices as to ruin manufacturers and dealers. The evil can be checked and lessened by you, gentlemen, with the power to inflict such losses that men of capital will hesitate long before risking it in a gamble whose hazards and perils are so imminent.

Our government needs a navy which shall protect our citizens in every land and our commerce upon every sea. Our weakness commercially is on the ocean. If we are to be the granary and the workshop, and our men of enterprise the merchants and bankers of the world, we must have

a mercantile marine sailing under the American flag. There may be disputes about processes, but any process is cheap and patriotic which enables American products to be carried in American bottoms and American ships to be the advance agents in the opening markets all round the globe.

Our financiers tell us that we are in the midst of a financial and industrial depression. Popular memories are proverbially short. Compared with the depression from 1894 to 1897 this one is of the microscopic grade. The country is simply resting after its wild debauch of promotion and speculation. That it suffers no more and feels no worse is a fine tribute to its unimpaired vigor and constitution. The Stock Exchange may only show one-tenth as many shares dealt in daily as for the past three years, and market values of stocks may have shrunk to bankrupt figures, but the efficiency and capacity of the plants of the great industrial reorganizations have been enormously increased and the equipment of the railroads for the care and carriage of freight nearly doubled. The year 1900 was the banner year for exports of manufactures, amounting to \$433,851,756, but in this year of so called depression they will reach \$450,000,000. We will export this year, in round numbers, \$1,278,000,000 in value from our farms, mills, mines and factories as against \$774,000,000 ten years ago. Imports have fallen off so that there will be an increased balance of trade in our favor over the startling figures since 1896. New wealth will be created this year from farms and industries, to be added to the stream from abroad, to stimulate our markets and energize our exchanges. We show our financial health by sending abroad \$40,000,000 in gold to pay for the Panama canal, and its loss is not felt in the price of money or the facilities of the banks. When the waiting which always accompanies a presidential election is over, the enormous accumulations which are the despair of the money lenders and the prosperity of the savings banks will be utilized by the people, made wiser by costly experience, in new enterprises and old, which enlarge the areas of general enjoyment, employment and prosperity.



**At the Buckwheat Breakfast Given by Senator  
and Mrs. Platt, at the Ah-Wa-Ga House,  
Owego, N. Y., November 15, 1904,  
to Celebrate the Election of  
Roosevelt and Fairbanks.  
and the Republican  
State Ticket.**

OUR HOST AND HOSTESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

Originality and initiative are the evidences of youth. This Buckwheat Breakfast, celebrating the election of Roosevelt and Fairbanks, and our State ticket, is the most original and unique of political events. It finds its suggestion and execution in the brain of our host. In bringing us here to the scene of his boyhood days, his start in life and his early triumphs, he carries us back to first principles. It is the country boys, born and raised on the farm or in the village, who govern the country in the Cabinet, in Congress, in gubernatorial chairs, in state legislatures and in the mayoralty of great cities. Breakfasts of buckwheat cakes, pie, country sausage and mush and milk have given to their digestive machinery muscles of steel so tried and tempered as to defy the luxurious creations of French chefs, and a degenerate civilization has never impaired either their health or their appetites. They dine with and help bury generation after generation of city bred men, and remain as active and vigorous as ever.

I said once to a well known and very successful soldier, "What is the essential element of victory for an army?" His answer was, "Plenty of beef and healthy stomachs."

The late Emory Storrs told me once a buckwheat cake story. This brilliant lawyer always succeeded in acquitting his man charged with murder and was retained all over the country. On this occasion court was held in a rural town in Arkansas. At breakfast the judge and Storrs were sitting together and delighted with plates piled high

with hot buckwheat cakes. The landlady stood behind her guests with a wide mouthed pitcher of New Orleans molasses. She said, "Judge, will you take a trickle or a dab?" The Judge said, "I am very fond of molasses, so I'll take a dab." Whereupon she put her hand in the pitcher and, gathering all it would hold, emptied the molasses on the judge's cakes. Storr's Chicago stomach could not stand that, so he said, "I'll take a trickle." Whereupon she dipped her fingers in the molasses pitcher and sprinkled the fluid on the lawyer's cakes. But in our civilization we have the glorious luxury of American crockery and American maple syrup.

Of all the aftermaths of my many campaigns this is pre-eminently the one for throwing bouquets. The audience loads the actors with them, the actors hurl them at each other, and before the footlights, as well as behind, there is a bower of roses. King David began life by playing the harp and then became King of Israel. Senator Platt began his political career by leading the Glee Club in the Fremont campaign of 1856, and for twenty years as leader of his party in the Empire State, he has won both fame and affection. Martin Van Buren as a party leader was a factor in the destinies of the Republic. Thurlow Weed for thirty years accomplished results which no other political leader had ever been able to bring about. Senator Platt's twenty years of leadership will stand in our political history as unequalled for freedom from factional strife within the party and glorious victories of the party.

We extend our congratulations to Governor Odell. His two administrations will compare favorably with the best the State has ever had. In the management of this campaign he has shown wisdom, tact and admirable generalship.

We cordially congratulate Governor Higgins. Fortunately the attacks made upon him were long enough before the election for the people of the State to see his honest face and learn of his magnificent equipment for their chief executive. He continued to rise in the estimation of his fellow citizens from the day he entered upon the platform until election night.

We are glad to have with us our successful candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Linn Bruce, whose eloquent voice did so much to bring about our victory. And to Mr. Mayer, the Attorney-General, and all the others of the ticket we also present our felicitations.

You gentlemen of our Congressional delegation and of the Senate and the Assembly of our State are a part of the most remarkable and historical political triumph of our lives. Members of the Assembly are elected every year and Congressmen and Senators every two years, and ordinarily one election differs little from another. But the Congressmen, Senators and Assemblymen who this year receive their certificates and take their seats will in the evening of their days recount, like the veterans of Waterloo or Gettysburg, to admiring and breathless listeners in the family circle and among the wise men of the town that "1904 was the year when Roosevelt and I"—or, in the vernacular of politics, "'me and Roosevelt'—were elected."

And now, gentlemen, we come to our chief. What elected Roosevelt? The answer is as clear as revelation: Roosevelt elected Roosevelt. No personality in American public life ever stood out so distinctly in individual characteristics, in emphasis of traits peculiarly his own and in outspoken confidences with the whole people as President Roosevelt. The qualities which his enemies caricatured or anathematized were the ones which endeared him to his countrymen. He holds his commission freer from pledges or obligations, except to the people, than any of his predecessors. The popular majority, rising nearly a million and a half above the high-water mark of McKinley's vote, is his charter and guide for the next four years. But it is also an approval of the continuance of Republican policies and the maintenance of Republican principles. This election teaches the thoughtfulness and independence of the people. It is no accident which gives this phenomenal majority to Roosevelt; it is no accident which elects in Minnesota a Democratic Governor, while giving a tremendous and unprecedented majority to Roosevelt; it is no accident by which a Democratic Governor is elected in

Massachusetts by almost the same majority as Roosevelt receives; it is an admonition and a warning to the party in power. The new Governor of Massachusetts, in a State which has been Republican so long, will have an enormous patronage. I understand that the Democratic applicants are by thousands preparing themselves to receive his favor and all are limping with corns from wearing and breaking in the Douglas three dollar shoes.

Now, my friends, what of the future? If there were any criticism or blame because of the Philippines, we could claim that the treaty which acquired the islands was ratified by the votes of fifteen Democratic Senators. If there were any blame or criticism because of Panama, we could claim that the treaty with the young Republic was ratified by the votes of fifteen Democratic Senators. But for the next four years the responsibilities of the Government are wholly ours. There is happiness in the electorate more general than ever before both among the victors and the vanquished. The workingman will retain his job and wages, the employer will have his factories running, his mills going, his furnaces in blast, his mines open, with a future rich in orders and markets. The farmer will sell his harvests with satisfactory returns and pay off his mortgage or add to his capital. We lack a healthy opposition and a vigorous and critical minority. Pride and arrogance in our victory would lead to our overthrow. We must be our own opposition, our own minority and our own critics. The Republican party stands for liberty and discussion, but we must avoid strife within the party and work together for the interests of the party as for the best interests of good government for the country and for our State. We must study the currents of popular opinion as never before and be alert, vigilant and wise in promoting policies which will continue prosperity. Upon the ruins or the disintegration of the Democratic party may arise an organization built up by able and resourceful agitators whose appeal will be to discontent. It must be our task to see that there shall be a minimum of discontent and a maximum of satisfaction and hope. We must take hold of questions of

tariff and reciprocity with a firm hand. Recognizing what the protective system has done, is doing and must do for our country, we must remember that it is not a fetich, but its friends in their wisdom must adjust it from time to time to the needs of the hour.

The announcement by President Roosevelt that John Hay is to be Secretary of State for the next four years keeps our foreign policy upon the lofty plane which has secured for us the respect of all nations and done so much for the peace of the world and for the entrance of our products and people upon equal terms into the markets of the globe.

President Roosevelt's frank and statesmanlike utterance that he will not be a candidate for re-election clears the political skies in our domestic legislation and administration and gives to us a great President free to exercise an independent and courageous judgment for great policies, for progress and development at home and that ideal position in foreign affairs where, without entangling alliances, the United States is a factor to be consulted and heeded in the interests of humanity and civilization.



**At the Jubilee Dinner Celebrating the Election of  
Roosevelt and Fairbanks, under the  
Auspices of the Republican National  
Committee and the Manufacturers,  
Association, at the Waldorf-Astoria,  
New York, November 30, 1904.**

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The voice of the spellbinder is no longer heard in the land. His occupation as public instructor and savior of the Republic is over for four years, unless he can continue his usefulness in the public service. He finds it difficult to resume the hum-drum of daily life after spending his nights on sleeping-cars, his days addressing multitudes—after being the conspicuous figure of marching processions, of torchlight parades, of fireworks and booming cannon. I met a Democratic friend of mine who was purchasing of a boy vender in the street Wagner's "Simple Life." He had been both a speaker and a candidate, and I said, "Why this investment?" His answer was, "I badly need its teachings, and after the expenses of my canvass it has come down to my figure in being sold at five cents."

The campaigns of 1896 and 1900 were organized and conducted with signal success by the most extraordinary and able political leader who has ever forged to the front. He came almost out of the unknown to carry into a political canvass the principles which had made him one of the leading business men of the country. His courage and tactfulness in defense, his resourcefulness in attack and his comprehensive grasp and control of situations everywhere were marvels of management. We have known but one Mark Hanna. The standard which Hanna set seemed impossible of attainment by any successor. But in the selection of that successor the choice fell upon a young man who possessed abundant experience in public life and in knowledge

of public men, and who had so impressed himself by his administrative and executive ability upon those in power that he had risen rapidly from a clerkship to the portfolio of a cabinet minister. As silent as Grant, as quick and resourceful as Sherman, with an intuitive knowledge of the States and their leading men, with a close touch with the people and their opinion, intent upon the one purpose of carrying every northern state for his chief, we hail to-night the victor, the Chairman of the National Committee, George B. Cortelyou.

For twelve years, covering three successive campaigns, the most difficult and responsible place on the National Committee, the office of treasurer, has been held by a New Yorker. He brought to the position the credit and experience of a successful merchant and the breadth of view and charity for the opinions of others of a statesman. He assumed risks which would have paralyzed less capable and confident men, and the party owes as the result of these three great canvasses a monumental debt of gratitude to Cornelius N. Bliss.

Political speaking is both a faculty and an art. Its cultivation requires years, and it cannot be acquired in a moment. We had two conspicuous examples in very able men. The judicial candidate for President, following the habit of a lifetime in the Appellate Court, instead of making popular speeches, handed down decisions which were reversed by the highest tribunal in the world, the American electorate. The other distinguished jurist, following the methods of a trial judge, was instructing the jury, who, rejecting guidance, interpreted in their own way both the law and the facts. When we consider the enormous interests involved and the ardor and excitement of the campaign, this election is unique in the general satisfaction which has followed the result. The triumph is so great that "on the one side we omit cheers, and on the other there are no tears." It has been one of those rare collisions where, after the first shock, the passenger finds the train moving on swiftly and safely as before, with his limbs and nerves and baggage secure. There are a sublimity and a grandeur most



impressive in the spectacle of 14,000,000 voters governing themselves without rancor or riot and with peace and goodwill.

There is going on to-day in Russia a revolution which may be one of the milestones of history. One hundred and thirty millions of people are appealing to their autocrat for a share in the government. For the first time in the history of the empire the appeal is listened to and considered. It seems singular to us, with our experience, that hesitancy and fear should be its attendants both in the palace and among the bureaus which govern the country. However well intentioned the ruling class may be, it sees behind any concession to the democratic spirit the destructive forces of socialism and anarchy. But the United States is the living and overwhelming proof of the safety and wisdom of a self-governing people. Every day in the year people discuss the action of their representatives and the measures of government. One day in the year they abandon their ordinary avocations to select their President and Vice-President, their Congressmen, their Governors and their legislators. One day in the year they instruct those whom they elect in the policies which they must pursue and the laws which they must enact, and give to them rules of conduct in domestic and foreign affairs for four years. The next day victors and vanquished accept the result and work harmoniously side by side, alike resuming the industries which mark the peaceful progress and prosperous development of a free people. The farmer's gun at Lexington echoed round the world. For the first time in the history of humanity it carried to subject peoples the lessons of civil and religious liberty, of the equality of all men before the law, and the inspiring principle of our glorious Declaration that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." From the close of the successful struggle which was inaugurated by the farmer's gun at Lexington until this election, the world has cared little about the domestic affairs of the United States. We were too isolated. We were of too little account upon the ocean. We

were too absorbed in the vital question of slavery, which threatened the virility of our free institutions, and a civil war which endangered their existence—too much absorbed in financial, industrial and agricultural recovery from the most wasteful war of modern times.

But in 1904 the cabinets of the great powers were more deeply concerned as to the verdict of the American people than in domestic issues in other nations. The equilibrium of Europe is so delicate that it is maintained only by increasing armaments on the land and navies upon the seas, by force equaling force. The demonstrated power of the United States in the Spanish War suddenly opened the eyes of foreign statesmen to this new factor, which, without injury to itself, could upset the European equilibrium.

For the first time in our elections, not only the press of Great Britain, but also of the European continent, teemed with despatches and discussions of the candidates and principles in the electoral contests of the United States. We were watching the returns on the bulletin boards on the night of the election with eager interest, but cabinet ministers in foreign capitals were equally intent. The frightful slaughter at Port Arthur, with a half million of men facing each other at Mukden for a death grapple for the possession of Manchuria, which belongs to neither, but to China, attracts and horrifies the world. But the fourteen million ballots cast in peaceful controversy over candidates and principles on the 8th of November in the United States settled questions of domestic and foreign policy of more moment to eighty millions of Americans and the commerce and diplomacy of nations than any other event which has occurred in the twentieth century. The verdict is accepted as of monumental consequence, when peace reigns in the East, to the competitive industries and markets of the world. It is an unprecedented vote of confidence in the one American whom they know and respect more than any ruler in Christendom. It is an emphatic affirmation of the principles of the protection of American industries and the retention of our home market for our own people in the interests of our own labor and capital. It is a clear authorization to the

Government to retain the Philippine Islands, to carry out in letter and spirit the obligations assumed by the treaty which ceded them to us and to hold them as a base for that entrance upon the markets of the Orient by our products and our people which has been secured from competitive nations by the superb diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt and John Hay. It is an instruction for the continuance by the Government of those internal improvements upon our rivers and our harbors and upon our desert lands which shall improve our commerce and add to our homes and to our agricultural wealth. Upon three of the gates of an ancient city was engraved the motto, "Be Bold"; upon the fourth, "Be Not Too Bold." With the minority beaten almost to a standstill, and disintegrated at that, the responsibilities of the victor are greater than ever came to a triumphant party. Our motto must be: In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty. We who have been taught the trade by a century's practice of protection can add to or modify the details of its administration in the way which will improve its efficiency and maintain its popularity.

Mr. John Morley, distinguished in letters and in statesmanship, and also for having always, no matter how much it threatened his public life, the courage for the utterance of his opinions, has spoken to us recently in the most friendly way upon the benefits of our defeat and the blessings of free trade. He says that of twenty-two years in Parliament he has been eighteen years on the wrong side of the Speaker's chair. But he considers the chastening influences which bear upon the minority are of more value than the inspiring effects of party triumphs. This part of his admonition to Americans is not for those who are gathered here to-night. But he said last Friday evening that he left to us the lesson of the emperor to whom was submitted the controversy of the Neuchatel creed, whether or not there was eternal damnation, and who decided that those who wished to be eternally damned might stay eternally damned. He meant that this was the choice of the protectionists of the United States. Well, my

friends, if protectionist United States is hell, it is very different from what the theologians have described. It has mighty good society and abundant prosperity, homes and happiness. I am inclined to think, when we look at industrial conditions in Great Britain under free trade and in the United States under protection, that our distinguished guest has lived so long in his own country and become so accustomed to surroundings there as heaven that when he gets into the other and real place he does not recognize his blissful environment. A preacher and a deacon were discussing the departure of a deceased member of the congregation who had benefited the world by leaving it. The layman said to his preacher, "I think we ought, if possible, some time to let him know what we think of his life, but," he continued, "unhappily, parson, when you get to heaven you will not find him there." "Well," said the parson, "deacon, then you tell him."

Washington was elected unanimously, and Monroe, in a phenomenal era of good feeling, when parties had practically disappeared, received almost the entire electoral vote. Since then the fury of the fight has pervaded every canvass and minimized the triumph. But now the people of the United States, by the unprecedented majority of over 2,000,000, have given a vote of unlimited confidence and a free hand to Theodore Roosevelt.

The habit of politics, which is American, has made our public service both at home and abroad remarkable for the ability and administrative capacity of those who have been changed suddenly from the professions or business to official positions. Good habits and good reputations are common in American public life. It is the achievement of Theodore Roosevelt that he has been distinguished in every office which he has held. As a young Member of Assembly he received more notice than the veterans. The Police Commissionership of this city under him attracted the attention of those interested in municipal government all over the country. In the office of Assistant Secretary, in which place is obscured so much of supreme ability, whose merits are never known, he became, in the public eye, almost

the whole government. There were divisions, brigades and regiments in Cuba, but in the popular mind and imagination the war is centered in Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. The virile and intelligent manhood of the country has said of him as President, "He is the ideal American." He will live up to and lead policies and measures of the Republican party, but his administration will be so broad and liberal that he will be the President of all parties. Following the admonition of Washington for national strength to command international respect, he has promoted the rapid construction of the navy until we are to be the second great power upon the seas. At the same time he has made the most valuable contribution of the twentieth century to the peace of the world by saving the tribunal at The Hague. The admiration and respect of the world and the affection and confidence of his countrymen are the unique distinctions of Theodore Roosevelt.



# "OUR CHAUNCEY"



## After Dinner Rhymes

BY

ISAAC H. BROMLEY

Delivered at the Annual Dinner of the New York Yale  
Alumni Association, January 23, 1891. Revised  
and freshened with notes by the Author.

## INTRODUCTION.

I am suddenly informed by the publishers that this book needs an introduction, and that they are waiting for it. I do not know why it is necessary. I shall not pretend that there is any excuse for putting the work in permanent form; no serious person has requested it. I have only to say that it was improvised several days before it was delivered, in the expectation of being unexpectedly called on for impromptu remarks. The lines were very well received at the time; that is to say, they did not break up the dinner. There is a change in the metre in the last five stanzas, which needs to be explained. I regret to say I cannot do it. It differs in many respects from ordinary prose, and some persons may at first blush call it poetry. It will likewise be observed, however, that it differs in some respects from good poetry. Such as it is, it is commended to the charitable judgment of mankind.

I. H. B.



"Bring me honey of Hymettus,  
Bring me stores of Attic Salt,  
I am weary of the commonplace,  
To dullness call a halt!"

"These dinner speeches tire me,  
They are tedious, flat and stale;  
From a hundred thousand banquet tables  
Comes a melancholy wail,  
As a hundred thousand banqueters  
Sit up in evening dress  
And salute each mouldy chestnut  
With a signal of distress."

Thus spake Jove on high Olympus,  
With a loud resounding roar,  
In the early days of April,  
Eighteen hundred thirty-four.  
Then to Bacchus standing near him,  
With his retinue of priests,  
Said he, "Bacchus, you're familiar  
With the speeches at these feasts;  
You, no doubt, can bear them better  
Than the common run of folks;  
But aren't they getting weary  
Of these old and threadbare jokes?"

Answered Bacchus, as he reached  
And took a bottle from the shelf,  
"Well, to tell the truth, my Jupiter,  
I'm getting tired myself."

**HYMETTUS.**—Any good classical dictionary can tell the reader about Hymettus. The most remarkable thing about it is, that at the very opening of the poem, it is the only kind of honey which fits the metre. It was quite a help to the poet.

**BACCHUS.**—Bacchus is introduced thus early in the poem, though late in the evening, under the poet's license. He had been there some time under Delmonico's.

**ANSWERED BACCHUS.**—Bacchus was nothing, or scarcely anything, if not truthful. This is what another poet of an earlier period refers to, when he says "*magna est veritas in vino.*"

"You, too, my bully Vulcan, have been  
 Sometimes in the reach,  
 Of the after-dinner orator  
 And after-dinner speech,  
 Tell us, my fine old blacksmith,  
 Does it give you great delight,  
 To hear the speakers spouting  
 While the guests are getting tight?  
 Do the orators and speeches  
 Bring you something fresh and new?  
 Speak out, my horny handed,  
 Let us hear a word from you!"

But old Vulcan, shoeing Pegasus,  
 Still held the horse's heel,  
 And hardly deigned an answer, but  
 Just grunted "Ausgespiel."

Turning then, where John L. Hercules  
 Stood leaning on his club,  
 Heavy weight among the athletes,  
 And champion of the Hub,  
 Father Jupiter said: "Hercules,  
 You're well known as a sport,  
 You've attended public dinners too,  
 Though that is not your forte;  
 Tell me which of all your labors  
 Can in your mind compare  
 With encountering the speaker  
 On the usual bill of fare?"

"AUSGESPIEL."—This would have been better, of course, in Greek; but the poet was pretty much out of Greek; and he felt, moreover, that it was only doing the fair thing by the language in which most of us take our beer, to bring it to the attention of scholars.

VULCAN.—It would have been better, of course, not to have rung in Vulcan as an expert in after-dinner speeches; but there was no other god handy, who fitted the metre; and it seemed a great deal better to sacrifice the gods to the metre than the metre to the gods.

HEAVY WEIGHT, ETC.—A careful reading of this between the lines will disclose a delicate compliment to a rival—that is, in some sense a rival—institution.

"Ah," said Hercules responsive,  
"When that duffer takes the floor  
I think of Erymanthus, and  
My tussle with the boar."

"Enough," cried Father Jupiter,  
"These degenerate sons of men,  
Have lost all versatility  
With either tongue or pen;  
Bring me honey of Hymettus,  
Bring me stores of Attic Salt,  
We will make an end of commonplace,  
To dullness call a halt."

"Though my altars are deserted,  
And the world no more shall see  
Eager multitudes at Delhi  
Or Dodona's speaking tree,  
Yet a trick or two is left me  
And I think I soon can teach  
These devotees of encores  
How to make a dinner speech."

Then broke out Oceanus, Mars, Poseidon and the rest,  
Crying, "Put not your decaying powers to so severe a test;  
Remember, there is nothing new remaining to be said.

"I THINK OF ERYMANTHUS AND MY TUSSLE WITH THE BOAR."—The reader is cautioned against connecting this remark with the Saturday dinners at Boston. They are, as one might say, different.

"WE WILL MAKE AN END," ETC.—It will be observed that this is in the nature of a repetition. All great poets do it. As, for instance, Virgil in his 8th Eclogue, when he breaks out every few minutes with: "Ducite ab urbe domum mea carmina, ducite Daphnin." So, too, Homer, in the Odyssey, with his everlasting "Τὸν δ' ἀπαμείβομενος προσέφη πολυμητὶς Ὀδυσσεύς." Then there was that other poet who said:

"These two lines that look so solemn  
Are put in here to fill a column."

DELHI.—This does not refer to Delhi, Delaware County, N. Y. Far from it.

POSEIDON.—This is Greek and will be understood by all educated men. If the reader is not an educated man, he can return the book and have his money back. It is hardly necessary to point out, that "Neptune" would have broken up the metre. We repeat that in every case we sacrifice the gods to the metre, rather than the metre to the gods.

Demosthenes and Cicero, and all that gang are dead.  
And the men who did the talking on departure of the ladies,  
Have now for several hundred years been doing time in  
Hades."

But the voice of Father Jupiter  
Went thundering through the hall,  
"I will show you soon an orator  
Who is bound to beat them all."  
Then to nimble-footed Mercury,  
Who stood waiting near the door,  
Disguised as District Messenger,  
Six Hundred Eighty-Four:  
"Bring me a dimpled baby  
Without blemish, stain, or fault,  
I will touch his lips with honey  
And his tongue with Attic Salt;  
He shall be a chosen infant,  
I will guide his youthful feet  
Through teething, mumps and measles,  
And the perils of the street;  
To train him for his mission  
Shall be my constant care,  
For he'll be at every table  
And on every bill of fare."

Sped Mercury on his errand,  
Hunting through the realms of space,  
For the coming dinner speaker, who  
Should not talk commonplace.

Not long the search, for Mercury  
By Jove divinely sent  
To Peekskill-on-the-Hudson  
His hurried footsteps bent;

HADES.—This again is a return to the Latin. "Sheol" has been rather more in vogue, lately, but it would not rhyme.

DISTRICT MESSENGER, SIX HUNDRED EIGHTY-FOUR.—The figures are taken at random. Any similar number ending in "four" would answer. Care was taken, however, that it did not contain a cypher. Whatever else happens to this poem, it shall not be attributed to Lord Bacon.

From there a dimpled baby  
In his cradle, calm and still,  
A wise, precocious infant, who  
Seemed just to fill the bill.

Then hurrying back to Jupiter  
At once addressed him thus:  
"May it please your Royal Highness,  
I think I've found the cuss."

To which great Jove, with dignity,  
Impressively replied,  
"Go not too fast, my Mercury;  
You know 'twould ill betide  
Our prestige on Olympus, if,  
By any sad mistake  
You've missed the coming orator and  
Struck a Peekskill fake.

Tell me, I pray you, frankly,  
By what distinguished sign  
Discovered you at Peekskill  
This orator divine?"  
Then answered nimble Mercury,  
With a giggle and a grin,  
"Oh, I knew him in a minute  
By the looseness of his chin."

"All right," said Father Jupiter,  
"You fill my soul with joy;  
Call all the gods and goddesses,  
We'll go and see the boy."

"I THINK I'VE FOUND THE CUSS."—It is not impossible, that this line will provoke criticism, partly on account of the sudden transition, but chiefly on account of the spelling. But it is believed that it has local color; and it will be observed that when Mercury "addressed him thus" he could not have found anything else without breaking up the whole poem.

"OH, I KNEW HIM IN A MINUTE."—The reader can hardly understand how difficult it is to "freshen up" a poem of this character "with copious notes;" but the publishers have promised that it shall be freshened up in that way, and the author is religiously trying to do it. There is nothing to be said about this page; and this remark is injected in order to make the notes more "copious."

So this Græco-Roman circus,  
From regions far remote  
Got off at Peekskill landing  
From the Friday evening boat.

There was Neptune with his trident,  
Apollo with his bow,  
John L. Hercules and Jupiter—  
The whole Olympian show.

And they marched to where young Mercury,  
With instinct sure and true,  
Had found the coming orator  
Young Chauncey M. Depew.

Then cried Jupiter in ecstasy,  
"We've found the coming man,  
He will make an end of dullness  
If anybody can."

To sweeten up his eloquence,  
Let him early learn to sip  
This honey of Hymettus  
Which I lay upon his lip;  
It will dulcify his utterance  
And keep his voice in tune"—  
While Jupiter was talking,  
The baby bit the spoon.

And Mercury, interrupting,  
As he stood beside the cradle,  
Spoke up, "Oh, throw the spoon away  
And feed him with a ladle."

FROM THE FRIDAY EVENING BOAT.—Absolute historical accuracy is not aimed at. It may have been some other evening. Purchasers of the poem who have any superstition regarding Friday evening are at liberty to substitute some other evening.

YOUNG CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.—Notwithstanding the suddenness of this disclosure, the President of the Association maintained entire self-possession.

"OH, THROW THE SPOON AWAY."—Again, a touch of local color. Not perhaps Olympian, or Homeric, but quite in the familiar manner of the District Messenger.

"This Attic salt," said Father Jove,  
"Will keep him extra dry;"  
At which the boy looked up,  
And dropped the corner of his eye.

"Precocious boy," cried Bacchus;  
"How natural to think  
That when you've got him extra dry  
You'll ask him up to drink.  
But never since the heavenly hosts  
With all the Titans strove  
Saw I an infant have the gall  
To wink at Father Jove."

"Enough of this," said Jupiter,  
"Success has crowned our search;  
Let the baby now be christened  
In the Presbyterian church!"

With the training that should fit him  
For his singular career,  
Until Eighteen Hundred Fifty-Two  
Jove did not interfere;  
Then, lest by misdirection,  
His experiment should fail,  
He peremptorily ordered that  
The boy be sent to Yale,

**EXTRA DRY.**—Here is an opportunity to bring in an advertisement of somebody's champagne. The publishers point with pride to the patent fact, that the temptation was resisted. It is believed that the absence of mercenary motives is rather conspicuously manifest throughout the entire work. Its sole purpose is to make men better.

**IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.**—Here is another instance of how Providence seemed somehow to be arranging for this poem from an early period. As a matter of fact, Chauncey was christened in the Presbyterian church. Any one can see what havoc it would have made with the verse had he been christened in the Episcopal church. It ought to be added, in all candor, however, that it would not have made the slightest difference if he had not been christened at all. No true poet ever permits himself to be hampered by facts. All that sort of thing is knocked out by the license.

Where the father of the gods knew  
The advantage it would be  
To have him get acquainted  
With the class of '53.

On the College fence accordingly  
The young man went and roosted  
By the voluble and soon-to-be  
Bald-headed Jimmy Husted.

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Then the years rolled along;  
Old toasts and old speeches  
Sucked the life-blood of fun  
From the table like leeches,  
And the tedious old-timer  
Inflicted his hearer  
With chestnuts whose vintage  
Outranked the Madeira.

While the guests who had paid  
For this banquet of soul,  
Resorted to drowning  
Their grief in the bowl.

Then over the banquet  
Arose in full view  
The fairy-like figure  
Of Chauncey Depew.

**THE CLASS OF '53.**—Yes, this is the same class. It has been mentioned in print heretofore.

**THE SOON-TO-BE BALD-HEADED JIMMY HUSTED.**—In 1852, the crop of hair in college was so abundant that the college fence might easily have been mistaken for a Spiritualist camp meeting. General James W. Husted, here familiarly and affectionately called "Jimmy," under the license taken out for the poem, had at that time hair, as can be proved, if necessary, by affidavits.

**THEN THE YEARS ROLLED ALONG.**—The break in the metre begins here. Warning of the same is given by a dash line, in order that the reader need not be precipitated hurriedly over into it, so suddenly as to double him up.



No need to describe him, you all know him well,  
For what Yale alumnus hath not felt the spell  
Of the wit and the wisdom,  
The charm and the grace  
Upon every occasion,  
Whatever the place,  
He diffuses about him? It need only be said  
Where he sits at the table is always the head.

Alumni and Ball Nine,  
Eleven and the Crew  
All throw up their hats  
For Chauncey Depew.

He's been dining and speaking  
For years near a score;  
He has routed the chestnut,  
Evicted the bore,  
No table's without him,  
No dinner complete;  
The fun always waits  
'Till he gets on his feet;  
Making all men his friends  
Without seeming to try,  
Now he prays with the pious,  
Now drinks with the dry.

Always sweet as the daisy  
And fresh as the dew,  
No fly ever lighted  
On Chauncey Depew.

His religion is varied,  
His politics checkered,  
But in making of speeches  
He's broken the record.

He's our model for eloquence,  
Pattern for style,  
Exemplar of morals  
And freedom from guile;

So when, as quite often  
It cometh to pass  
We practise our speeches  
In front of the glass,  
And the Madame, bewildered,  
Says, "What are you doing?"  
Our only reply is,  
"I'm Chauncey Depewing."

It may be to-night, that, as Madame foreboded,  
Because Chauncey's always so, you'll go home loaded,  
Of some old college song you'll be humming a snatch.  
While fumbling around in your room for a match.

When all of a sudden,  
You're knocked off your centre  
By recalling his sweet  
*'Επεα πτεροεντα.*

Then if some one inquires, "My dear John, are you slewed?"  
You need only to say, "No, I'm Chauncey Depew-ed."



*'Επεα πτεροεντα.*—The propriety, if not absolute necessity, for bringing in a little Greek on such an occasion will be recognized by intelligent men. This seemed to be the last chance to give the work a scholarly turn. It was received with enthusiasm; and the author took pains to translate it to the guests who waited upon him privately for that purpose.











